Thomas Hallett
Cam. c. 676.

THREE SERMONS

Preached in

St. Maries Church

IN

CAMBRIDG,

UPON THE

Three Anniversaries

OF THE

{ Martyrdom of *Charles* I. *Jan.* 30.
{ Birth and Return of *Charles* II. *May* 29.
{ Gun-powder Treason, *Novemb.* 5.

By *JAMES DUPORT* D.D. Dean of *Peterborough*, and Master of *Magdalen* College in *Cambridg*, and one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary.

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LONDON:

Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* in St. *Pauls* Church-yard and the West end M DC LXXVI.

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14-278

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LONDON:

Printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1676.

REVERENDO DOCTISSIMOQUE VIRO *ROBERTO HITCH* S. T. P. ECCLESIÆ METROPOLITICÆ EBORACENSIS DECANO TUTORI SUO ÆTERNUM COLENDO TRES HASCE CONCIONES LEVIDENSE QUIDEM MUNUSCULUM INDUBIUM TAMEN GRATI ANIMI AMORIS ET OBSERVANTIÆ PIGNUS AC MONUMENTUM LUBENS MERITO D. D. D.

JACOBUS DUPORT.

IMPRIMATUR

Ro. Mapleloft Procan.
Ja: Fletewood.
Ri. Minshull.
Jo. Pearson : now Lord Bishop of *Chester.*

A SERMON Preached upon the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of King *CHARLES* the First.

Acts 7. 60.

---Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.

IT is the Prayer of St. *Stephen* the Proto-Martyr for his Persecutors and Murderers: and it was the Prayer of our late Royal Martyr for his Persecutors and Murderers too; for these were his words in his Speech at his Death, *I pray God, with St.* Stephen, *that this be not laid to their charge.* And this is one part of the Parallel may be drawn between these two Martyrs, to make the Text *verbum diei*, suitable to the time. Another may be taken from the 9 and 10 Verses of the foregoing Chapter, where we find *the Synagogue of the Libertines* and others, *disputing with Stephen; and they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake.* And did not our Royal Martyr too dispute with the *Libertines?* (for *Liberty* was the pretence both in Church and State) did he not dispute with the Kirk-men of *Scotland*, and others here at home, and so confound 'um, that *they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake*, as is notoriously known, and yet to be seen in his incom-

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Non pœna sed causa facit Martyrem. S. Aug. Epist. 61.

parable Works? 3. Was it not for the Cause (and *'tis the Cause that makes the Martyr*) of God and a good Conscience, and the Gospel, and the Church of Christ, and true Religion, that he suffer'd as well as *Stephen*? 4. Some part of a parallel, by way of allusion, may be in the name: *Stephen* signifies a *Crown*, and ever since 'tis call'd the *Crown* of Martyrdom, *Martyrium Stephani Martyrii Stephanus*: 'tis not mine, but *Gregory Nyssen*'s in his Encomiastic Oration upon him: *Stephen* was the first that wore the *Crown* of Martyrdom. And was not the Murther of our Royal *Charles* the Martyrdom of a *Crown*? for our Regicides did not only kill the King, but the *Crown* it self, as much they could, not only an annointed *Crowned* King, but the *Crown* and Kingdom too. Thus they found out a way to bring *Caligula*'s wish to effect, and by a Compendium of Cruelty, *uno ictu*, to decoll the whole Kingdom; for when they cut off his Head, they cut off the Head of the People (so *Carolus* in Greek signifies Κάρα λαοῦ) and they made account the People shu'd never have a *head* more, but be *Acephali* both in Church and State; not any one *head*, no Monarch, nor King, but I know not what; and so they shu'd have been a kind of a Hydra, or *bellua multorum capitum*. 5. And lastly, St. *Stephen* was the Proto-Martyr, or first Martyr; and so was our St. *Charles*: but how can this be? you'l say: is not this a contradiction, that there shu'd be two Proto-Martyrs, two first Martyrs, and those so long one after another? but my meaning is, ours was the first that ever was Murder'd or Martyr'd in the like kind: for was it ever heard of, recorded or read in any Story, that there ever was in any age of the world the like horrid Barbarity, such a quintessence of Treason, Rebellion and Cruelty, as was acted this day upon his Sacred Person? He being the first

ὁ Στέφανος πρῶτος τὸ στέφανον τὸ μαρτυρίας ἀναδησάμενος. Greg. Nyss. Tom. 3. Orat. in S. Steph.

crown'd and anointed King that was thus murder'd by his own Subjects at his own Palace-gate, and that by a Mock-High-Court of Juſtice, or rather by a deep-diſſembling Court of moſt high Injuſtice; the firſt example in this kind, and ſo a Proto-Martyr too. But I ſhall leave theſe, and return to that part of the Parallel, which we meet withal here, *viz.* his praying for his Enemies, Perſecutors, and Murderers, as St. *Stephen* does in the words of the Text, *Lord, lay not this ſin to their charge.* In which words obſerv with me theſe five particulars.

1. Here's *Deſignatio criminis*, the deſignation of a Crime, or Sin; the pointing out of ſome ſpecial, ſignal, remarkable Sin, *this* Sin.
2. *Reatus*, or *meritum peccati*, the guilt or demerit of Sin in general, 'tis to be *layd* to the Sinner's *charge.*
3. *Miſericordia Dei*, the mercy of God in giving a diſcharge to Sinners ſometimes, and not *laying* their *ſins to their charge.* This ſuppos'd, elſe it had been in vain for *Stephen* to ha' made ſuch a Prayer.
4. *Virtus Orationis*, the efficacy and power of Prayer in procuring a pardon, and prevailing with God to grant a diſcharge, and not to *lay ſin to the charge* of a Sinner.
5. And laſtly, *Officium Chriſtiani*. the *duty* of Chriſtians under the Croſs, by St. *Stephen*'s example to pray for their Perſecutors, as he did here, *Lord, lay not.* &c.

1. Here's *Deſignatio criminis*, the pointing out of ſome ſpecial, ſignal, remarkable Sin, *this* Sin: ſome extraordinary great Sin ſure it was, a Sin of the firſt magnitude, *crimen majoris abollæ.* This appears by our Martyr's Praying, and Praying ſo earneſtly *with a loud voice*, for the pardon and forgiveneſs of it, *lay not this ſin, this*

Sin, with an emphasis; this great, grievous, heinous Sin, lay not *this* Sin to their charge. 'Tis true, there's no Sin but stands in need of pardon; yet all Sins are not equal (as the *Stoics* wu'd have them) but some greater than others, and so require a greater measure of repentance; and men must pray and cry louder than ordinary for the pardon and forgiveness of them: Especially when we pray for the pardon of other mens Sins, making particular mention of 'um, we do not commonly take notice of Gnats but Camels, not of Moats but Beams, not of Mole-hills but Mountains: I mean, we do not use to specifie or particularize any with a demonstrative, *hoc peccatum*, *this* Sin, unless it be some extraordinary heinous crying Sin; and such a one (it seems) was this here; a crying Sin, or else *Stephen* wu'd never have cry'd so loud for the pardon, and non-imputation of it. Indeed this was the last Sin he knew they were guilty of, and they were now flagrant in the actual commission of it, and so he might be the more concern'd for 'um, and the more sensible of it; and the rather because he felt the fruit or rather the smart of it, while the stones came rating about his ears. But this was not it; sure there was more in it then so: for what cu'd his crying out avail him, or do him good as to that? he knew they were implacably set against him: he knew he cu'd not hold *their* hands from *stoning* him, but he hop'd God might hold *his* from *striking* them; 'twas not then his own particular interest that made him put an emphasis upon the Sin, *this* Sin: 'twas not the stones on his *head* that troubled him so much, nor the stones i'their *hands*, but the stone i'their *hearts*, their hard, and obdurate, and stony hearts; of which their σκληροκαρδία, and hardness of heart, *this* Sin in stoning him was too evident, and pregnant a proof. And though this was the last Sin he knew of 'um, yet he

knew

knew 'twas not the least, but rather the greatest that ever they had committed, the most heinous, and barbarous, and bloody Sin that ever they were guilty of, next to that of crucifying their King, and Murdering his and their Lord and Saviour. And therefore in his Sermon to 'um, of all their other Sins, he only takes notice of this, and upbraids 'um with it, *v.* 52, *As your fathers did, so do ye; which of the Prophets have not your fathers persecuted?* And so our blessed Saviour in that pathetical exclamation of his, where he so passionately bewails and laments the sinful estate of *Jerusalem*, though he knew her to be guilty of many other heinous and grievous Sins, yet he singles out this Sin above all, as the most capital Crime, and chief of all, *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets*, &c. This then was the Sin, *this* Sin here i' the Text, killing a Prophet, stoning a Minister and Messenger of God, that was sent unto 'um to teach 'um the way of Salvation, and Murdering him, only for preaching Christ and the Gospel, and standing stoutly in defence of the truth. And was not this a Sin (as I may say) with a witness, thus to slay a Witness and Martyr of the Lord Jesus? Homicide in general, the murder of any man whomsoever, is a heinous and bloody Sin, one of those three crying Sins, so call'd in Scripture, and I think the chief of the three, that cry loud to Heaven for vengeance. And as it was the Sin of *Adam*'s first-born, so it was the first-born Sin we read of next to *Adam* and *Eve*'s; and we find God setting a brand and a mark upon it (as he did upon *Cain* the first committer of it) and threatning it with a special curse of retaliation, *He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*: and this long before the giving of the Moral Law by *Moses*; it being one of the seven Precepts given to the Sons of *Noah*, not to kill, or Matth. 23. 37. Gen. 9. 6.

commit

commit Murder; a Sin ſo foul and heinous in its own nature, and ſo directly againſt the Law of Nature, that the very Heathen by the Divine light of natural reaſon, ſaw the uglineſs and deformity of it; and therefore did hate and abhor it, and made it a capital Crime, and ſo to be puniſh'd with *Lex talionis*, according to the fore-named Divine Law. Such is *this* Sin, *this* Sin here of Bloodſhed and Murder in general, a black, foul, grievous, and horrid Crime, a crying Sin, a Sin that crys loud to Heaven for vengeance: but much more when 'tis the ſhedding of *innocent* blood, the putting of a juſt and righteous man to death: and how much more yet, when 'tis the killing of a Prophet, a Miniſter and Meſſenger of God, and that for no other cauſe i'the world, but for ſpeaking the truth in the name of the Lord, and in the very act of his preaching to them the truth of God; the Murder of a Martyr and witneſs of Chriſt, yea and of his very witneſs too which he bare, and the thing witneſſed, (what in them lay) Now ſuch as was the ſtoning of *Stephen*, who here ſeals the truth of the Goſpel, and of Chriſtian Religion with his blood, and thus prays for his Murderers, *Lord, lay not this ſin to their charge.* This the Sin i'the Text; and what think ye of the Sin o'the Day? Stoning of *Stephen*, the Sin i'the Text; Killing the King, the Sin o'the Day. Somthing I premis'd in the beginning concerning theſe two Martyrs and their Sufferings by way of Parallel. And though I confeſs the ſtoning of *Stephen* as to the ground and cauſe of his ſuffering, ſcarce admits of any Parallel ſince the crucifying of Chriſt, the Martyrdom of St. *Stephen* being a direct Murdering of Chriſt again, in the firſt preaching of the Goſpel to God's ancient people by his inſpir'd Evangeliſt and Prophet; yet, in ſome reſpects at leaſt, I think I may ſafely ſay, the tranſcript not only equals, but

even

even exceeds the Proto-type, and the Copy outdoes the Original, I mean, the Sin of the Day outgoes the Sin i'the Text; whether we conſider the rank and *quality* of the Sufferers, or the *malice* of the Murderers, or the *manner* of the proceedings, cloath'd with many black, foul, aggravating circumſtances; of which I ſhall not need now to ſpeak particularly, they being ſo well known to the world. I ſhall only at preſent take notice of the rank and quality of the Sufferer, or Perſon of our Royal Martyr; which alone is ſufficient to aggravate *this* Sin, to enhance and heighten it to the higheſt point and pitch of impiety. And here I ſhall take a brief view of him in a double capacity, firſt in his *Political* capacity, as a King; then in his *Moral* or *Perſonal* capacity, as a man, or a Chriſtian: And I hope I may make a better uſe of this diſtinction, than ſome have formerly done. Firſt, look upon him as a King; he was a Royal Martyr. St. *Stephen* though he had a *Crown* in his name, and wore the *Crown* of Martyrdom, and that ſet with ſtones, and thoſe precious ſtones (for *Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saints*) Pſal. 116. 15. yet he had no *Crown* on his head; I mean, he never wore a Crown of Gold, as our Royal Martyr did, who was a crowned and anointed King, and ſo his Perſon Sacred and inviolable; *Sacroſanctæ Regum Majeſtas*, being generally own'd and acknowledg'd by all, even the moſt barbarous Nations; and the Supreme Majeſty having a ſtamp of Divinity, and ſo a *Noli me tangere* ſet upon it by the Laws both of God and Man. Such was the Martyr o'the day, our late dread Soveraign *Charles* the Firſt of ever bleſſed and glorious Memory, whoſe Sacred Majeſty cu'd not not ſecure it ſelf from the malice and cruelty of blood-thirſty men, though his own natural profeſs'd Subjects. The Jews that ſton'd *Stephen*, were his Enemies; but they were not his

his Subjects: they might be sworn *against* him, be his sworn Enemies, but they were not sworn *to* him, not his sworn Subjects: he was not their Leige Lord and Master; they never swore fealty nor allegeance to him as our Jews had done to our Martyr-King. Those Jews that put *Stephen* to death, Persecutors they were, and Murderers; but they were not Traitors nor Rebels, as ours were: they were guilty of shedding *innocent* blood, but yet they were not guilty of shedding *Royal* blood, as our Jews were: *Homicides* they were, yea and *Propheticides* (as I may say), they kill'd a Prophet, a Preacher of righteousness, a Deacon, a Church-man; but they were not *Regicides*, not guilty of Rebellion and Treason, as ours were to purpose. In stoning of *Stephen*, they did not Murder their Lord and Master, their Leige Lord and Soveraign King, as ours did this day: Traytors they were not, they did not betray him, nor did they conspire and contrive and plot his death by any premeditated malice; but transported with a rash blind zeal, and hurry'd on with a sudden impetuous fury, *they ran upon him with one accord* (saith the Text) *and cast him out of the City, and ston'd him*: but our Jews did their work in a more deliberate way; they did plot and forecast; and drive on their design by a long train and myne of mischief; they wove a curious web of wickedness, spun a fine thread of Rebellion and Treason, and then cut it, or rather cut him, off, in a methodical way, by a Pageantry of villany, by a Mock-Court of Justice kill'd their King, and embrew'd their hands (*animus meminisse horret*) in the blood o' their Soveraign, the Lord's anointed. That for his *Political* capacity, as King and Supreme. Now for his *Moral* or *Personal*, take him as a Man or a Christian, τί πρῶτον; τί δ' ἔσχατα;— so just, so sober, so chast, so temperate, so prudent, so gentle,

V. 57, 58.

so

ſo merciful, ſo patient, ſo charitable, ſo religious (witneſs his duely and daily frequenting his Cloſet and Chappel, beſides his private Devotions); in a word, ſo vertuous and free from vice, that even malice or ſlander could faſten nothing upon him: yea ſome o'the chief Rebels confeſs'd he was too good for us; this ſinful Nation was not worthy of him, yea *the world was not worthy* of him; and therefore by a new kind of Oſtraciſm, far worſe than that of *Athens*, he muſt be baniſh'd from off the face of the earth, only becauſe he was ſo good and ſo excellent a Perſon. I read in a very good Author of a ſtrange cuſtom among a people of *Scythia* call'd *Albani* (and *Strabo* lib. 11, has ſomething like it, ſpeaking of the ſame people) who were wont to offer up that man in Sacrifice to their gods, whom they thought to be moſt eminent for holineſs o' life (ye know what Countrey is called *Albania*, and ye know who deliver'd up our Royal Martyr, though I will not ſay they offer'd him up, with an intent he ſhu'd be made a Sacrifice, as it afterwards prov'd); I ſhall leav it to you to apply it. Thus the caſe ſtood between the King and the Rebels; becauſe he did *Sanctimoniâ maximè pollere*, was ſo holy a man, a moſt *gracious* King, therefore they proceeded to make him a moſt *glorious* King too; and ſo they did, by beſtowing upon him the *glorious Crown* of Martyrdom. Whatever they pretended, to palliate ſo foul a cauſe, yet their Conſcience told 'um, they cu'd find no fault in him; as *Pilat* ſaid, *I find no fault in this man.* Our Schiſmatics of neither hand, neither Papal, nor the other, cu'd find any fault in him, but only that he was not theirs; *Nuntius à Mortuis*, who knows the mind, and ſpeaks the ſenſe, of his Brethren o' *Rome*, confeſſes plainly that he was ſo good and vertuous a Prince, nothing cu'd ſtick upon him, or be laid to his charge, but only that he perſiſted

Grot. De Satisfact. cap. 10. *De Albanis hoc ſpecialiter proditum, ſolere ab ipſis immolari tum, quem crederent Sanctimoniâ maximè pollere.*

Joh. 19. 6. *Talis cùm ſis, utinam noſter eſſes!* *Nunt. à Mort.* *Nemo, demtâ hæreſeos labe aut juſtior, aut ſanctior,* &c. p. 7.

sisted in the Schism, forsooth, and Heresie, begun by his Predecessor *Henry* the Eighth; that is, that he continued firm and constant, and immoveable in the profession and maintenance and defence of the true Protestant Reformed Religion. They on the other side quite contrary, blam'd him for nothing else, at least for nothing so much, as his inclination to Popery; and all because he wu'd not dance after their pipe, nor suffer himself to be carried with the stream o'the Faction, nor swim with them down the *Leman* lake; but stood firm for the Church of *England*, in opposition to both extreams. Thus he was crush'd between two milstones, and Crucify'd like Christ by Jew and Gentile, and between two thievs: For 'twas resolv'd and decreed, *one man must dye for the people*, as *Caiaphas* said: for the people indeed, he must be made a Sacrifice, and a Martyr for the Laws and Liberties, and Religion too, of the Church of *England*, as it stood by Law establish'd both for Doctrine and Discipline. I hope, after all this, ye do not expect, I should give you a complete Character of him, nor an exact Catalogue of all those vertues and graces, of which I nam'd but a few even now, that were so eminent and exemplary in him, and shin'd so remarkably in his Royal Person. This is a task I wu'd not, nay cu'd not undertake, Οὐδ' ἔς μοι δόκα μὴν γλῆσθαι: I shu'd wrong both Him, and you, and my self, if I shu'd go about it. Look not then that I shu'd draw a Portraicture or Picture of him with my rude unskilful pencil; 'tis done already, and done to the life, and no *Apelles* can draw it so well, as he has done himself with his own hand, in his most exquisite and incomparable piece, called Εἰκὼν βασιλική; a Book which so confounded his Adversaries, that when they cu'd not contradict nor confute it, they were fain *calumniari fortiter*, yea, and *mentiri turpiter*, by denying it to be his own.

And

And now methinks I may ſay, as *Pilat* did of him whoſe example this our Royal Martyr follow'd, *Behold your King*, and again, *Behold the man*: Look upon him as a *King*, and look upon him as a *Man*, he was a Mirror of both, the beſt of *Kings*, and the beſt of *Men*. And may I not then upbraid our Jews, as St. *Stephen* does his here, *v.* 52, by calling our Martyr *the Juſt one, of whom they ha' been the betrayers and murderers*, and apply that in *Daniel* to Him in a qualify'd ſenſe, the *Meſſias was cut off* (our Anointed, ſo Meſſias ſignifies) *but not for himſelf*, i. e. not for his own Sins, but the Sins o'the people. Thus in all reſpects the Sin of our Regicides, the Sin of this day, was a bloody and a ſcarlet Sin; and therefore the *Pilat* of this day might well be clad in Scarlet, when the Sin he acted was ſo deep-dy'd; and all of 'um, both they and their Preſident, were ſo *ſcarletted* all over, ſo *dibaphi*, double-dy'd, and twice dipt, dipt i'the blood of a gracious King, and dipt i'the blood of a righteous man. But I labour in vain to ſhow you the uglineſs of this moſt execrable and heinous Crime: to deſcribe and portray this horrid Monſter in its full proportion, in all its lineaments and lively colours, wu'd require a volume, or rather many volumes, to be writ of it: yea, he that wu'd paint out *this* Sin in its colours, muſt not do it in writing, not in black and white, but in black and red; for 'twas as black as hell, and as red as blood; as red as the *red Dragon*, yea as red as Scarlet, as the *Scarlet whore*, if *Rome* be *ſhe*; and ſure the hand of *Joab*, the Jeſuit with his King-killing Doctrine, was in all this, and every one o'the Regicides had a Pope in his belly, to give him a Diſpenſation, and abſolv him from his Oath of Allegiance. This was the Sin o'the day, *hoc peccatum*, *this* Sin; and ſo much for the firſt particular; wherein the longer I ha' been, the

Joh. 19. 14. Joh. 19. 5.

Dan. 9. 26.

ſhorter I muſt be in the reſt that follow.

2. 2. *Reatus* or *meritum peccati*, the demerit and guilt of Sin; in common right and juſtice 'tis to be *laid to* the Sinners *charge*; 'tis to be imputed to him, and laid upon him. 'Twas God's ſaying to *Cain*, (the Ring-leader of Homi-
Gen. 4. 7. cides, the firſt man that ever committed Murder) *Sin lies at the door.* Every ſin, eſpecially this bloody crying Sin, lies at the door, at the Sinner's own door, and he muſt take the brat home to himſelf, and not father it upon any other; none elſe to bear the blame of it, nor to be chargeable with it, neither Ζεὺς, nor μοῖρα, nor ὑπερφίαλος Ἔρως, (by his leav in *Homer*) neither God, nor Fate, nor Deſtiny, nor Chance, nor Providence, nor Nature, unleſs it be corrupt nature; and that's the Sinner himſelf. No, nor yet is the Devil by himſelf alone chargeable with it; he is *ſuaſor*, but not *actor*; the Tempter, but not the Sinner; ſpeaking of *this Sin*, you may call him
Joh. 8. 44. the Father of it, as he is of every Sin; for as *he is a lyar, and the Father of it*, ſo *he was a murtherer from the beginning*, and the father of it: ſo then he may paſs for the father, if ye will; but the fleſh, or our ſinful corruption is the mother, and that's the ſurer ſide; and ſo every man's Sin to be *laid to his* own *charge*, at his own door, *Noxa caput ſequitur.* Now of all others, a Murderer is a Sinner in grain, a deep dy'd Sinner, as deep-dy'd as blood can make him; and as every Murderer is ſuch an egregious Sinner, ſo every Sinner is an egregious Murderer, for he's αὐτόχειρ, a Self-murderer, he's *felo de ſe*, guilty of his own death, he contracts a guilt, and incurs a penalty, and that no leſs than of death, and that as
Rom. 6. 23. due as the workman's wages, *for the wages of ſin is death:* there's a charge drawn up againſt him under his own hand in the Court of Heaven, a guilt cleavs unto him, and that not only *reatus ſimplex*, as they call it,

or

or a guilt in *actu* 1°, but alſo *reatus redundans in perſonam*, or a guilt in *actu* 2°. without the mercy of God through the merits of Chriſt interceding for him. This St. *Stephen* ſuppoſes, that in the ordinary courſe of God's juſtice Sin is *laid to* the Sinner's *charge*; and he to bear the burden, and to undergo the penalty of it: and yet he ſuppoſes withal, that the mercy of God ſometimes intervenes, and takes off the *charge*.

And that's the third Particular, *Miſericordia Dei*, the mercy of God in giving a diſcharge to Sinners ſometimes, and *not laying* their Sins *to their charge*: were it not for this, and for hope o'this, neither of our Martyrs wu'd ha' thus pray'd for their Murderers. When a Sinner is arraign'd and condemn'd at the bar of God's juſtice, he ſometimes finds both a reprieve and a pardon at his mercy-ſeat; when he's caſt in Law, and the Cauſe carry'd againſt him in the ordinary Court of juſtice, he finds ſome relief and favour by getting a pardon under the broad ſeal of Heaven, the Goſpel of Grace, ſign'd and ſeal'd with the blood of Chriſt. Were it not ſo, wo worth the day that ever we were born, the beſt of us all; if God ſhu'd *charge* home upon us, and *lay* all our Sins *to our charge*. But, bleſſed be God, there's hopes, yea very good hopes to the contrary, be our ſins never ſo great and grievous; that's our comfort, and that's the ground of our Martyr's Prayer, *Lord, lay not this ſin*, this heinous and crying Sin, *Lay not this ſin to their charge*. Sins *may* always be laid to the Sinner's charge, that's their merit; but they *are* not always ſo laid, that's God's mercy: they may *de jure*, that's the guilt o'Sin; but they are not *de facto*, that's the goodneſs o'God. But I ſhall wave the further proſecution o'theſe, and paſs to the

3.

Ve etiam laudabili vitæ hominum. Aug. Conf. l. 1. c. 22. *Si quotiès peccant homines, ſua fulmina mittat.*

4*th*. Particular, and that is *Virtus Orationis*, the efficacy and power of Prayer, in procuring a pardon, not only for

4.

for our selves, but for others; I say, in procuring a pardon, and prevailing with God to grant a discharge, and not to *lay sin to the charge* of a Sinner, though never so great and
Exod. 34. 7. grievous. That God is a God *forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin* (as he says himself), *i. e.* all manner of Sin, Sins of all sorts and sizes; that he sometimes acquits and discharges even the greatest Sinners, releasing 'um from the penalty and guilt o' their Sins, *non imputat*, that we had before, and St. *Stephen* takes it for granted: but now, *Quare non imputat*, whence comes it to pass, by what means or motives is God prevail'd with, and wrought upon, so as *non imputare*, to deal so graciously with the wretchedest and vilest Sinners, as *not to lay their sins to their charge*, no, not *hoc peccatum*, not *this* Sin, though never so foul, horrid and heinous? this we have here, *viz.* St. *Stephen's* earnest and fervent Prayer for 'um. *Stephen* was a righteous man; *justitia causæ*, and *justitia personæ*, both met in him, and that in an eminent manner; he was a righteous man, and had a righteous cause: and *the Prayer* of such a man
Jam. 5. 16. (says St. *James*) *of a righteous man* πολὺ ἰσχύς, is very effectual, and *availeth much*. O the perswasive Rhetoric of a good man's Prayer! The Prayer of a Saint, of a Martyr especially, is very powerful and prevalent for procuring a pardon, and that not only of his own Sins, but of the Sins of others, even to a *nè imputes*, so as to take off the *charge*, and free 'um from the guilt and penalty of 'um. But what? shall we then make Saints and Martyrs our joint-Mediators and Intercessors? or shall we say, that their Blood, and Tears, and Prayers procure a discharge, and sue out a pardon, and obtain a non-imputation of Sin? Is not this derogatory to the mercy o' God, and the merit o' Christ? not at all: for the Prayers of the Saints are prevalent only through his

merits

merits and mediation. Indeed 'tis the free Grace and Mercy of God, that is the prime and principal *proegumenous* cauſe, whereby God is inwardly mov'd and enclin'd to give a diſcharge and releaſe to Sinners, and to grant pardon and forgiveneſs o' Sin: and 'tis the all-ſufficient merit and mediation of Chriſt, that is the prime and principal *procatarctic* cauſe, the only impulſive meritorious cauſe, whereby God is mov'd and induced to ſhow pity to poor Sinners: 'Tis Chriſt alone that is our *Advocate with the Father, and he is the propitiation for our ſins*, ſays St. *John*; though, if *Socinus* ſay true, the blood of Martyrs may avail almoſt as much for the expiation and pardon of Sins, as the blood o' Chriſt; yet the ſame Apoſtle tells us, that (not the blood of Martyrs, but only) *the blood of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God cleanſeth us from all ſin. Without ſhedding o' blood* (his blood) no *remiſſion* o' Sin, not of the Sin of Blood-ſhed and Murder, *this* Sin, to be ſure: 'tis his blood alone can waſh out this blood, the guilt and ſtain of this Crimſon and Scarlet Sin, eſpecially the ſtain of innocent and Royal blood, the Sin of this day. 'Tis not the blood of all the Martyrs and Holy men that ever were ſlain ſince the beginning o' the world, not *all the righteous blood ſhed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of* our rigbteous King *Charles* the Firſt, that can make an atonement or propitiation for any one Sin. The blood of Saints and Martyrs may cry aloud to Heaven for vengeance, but it can never cry for mercy; no, that's proper and peculiar to the blood of Chriſt alone: No other propitiatory nor deletory of Sin, but only the blood of that immaculate Lamb. Nor have we any other Advocates in Heaven, that we know on, nor Mediators of interceſſion, no more than of Redemption, but only that *one Mediator between God and men*,

1 Joh. 2. 1, 2.

1 Joh. 1. 7.

Heb. 9. 22.

Matth. 23. 35.

1 Tim. 2. 5.

men the man Christ Jesus. I say, no other Advocates nor Mediators in Heaven; yet we have a sort of inferiour Advocates and Intercessors on earth, *viz.* our fellow-Christians, that may and do make intercession for us, and are daily Orators in our behalf at the throne of Grace; praying to God for us, that he wu'd not impute our Sins unto us. Some on earth then we have, that intercede and pray for us, but none in Heaven, but our Saviour Christ; I mean none that pray for us in particular, though in the general, the Church Triumphant in Heaven, may pray for the Church Militant here on earth; yet, I say, no Saints departed pray for us in particular, for ought we know, and *Viventes pro viventibus, ergo Defuncti*, is no good consequence by the Cardinal's leav; for they that live and converse with us here on earth, may see and know our wants, or we may impart our thoughts and desires, our needs and necessities to 'um: but that the Saints in Heaven either know my wants, or hear my Prayers, I ha' no ground to believ, because no warrant at all in Scripture; therefore I cannot in Faith call upon 'um, nor pray unto 'um to pray, and intercede for me: and though St. *Stephen*'s Prayer might prevail for his Persecutors, while he was upon earth, yet it cannot prevail with me to say, *Sancte Stephane, ora me*, now he's in Heaven. However this benefit and advantage we have by that Article of our Creed, *the Communion of Saints*, that we who are members of the Catholic Church here on earth, reap the fruit of one anothers Prayers. Nor is this sweet perfume of the Prayers of the Saints confin'd within the verge and pale o'the Christian Church, but extends it self to the benefit even of Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics; so that when *this alabaster box is broken*, and these Prayers pour'd forth, the whole world *is fill'd with the odour of the Ointment.* Though then the mediation and inter-

interceſſion of Chriſt in Heaven be the ſole meritorious cauſe of a *nè imputes*, of not *laying ſin to the ſinner's charge:* yet by the vertue of his merit and mediation, the Prayers and Interceſſions of Holy men upon earth are very prevalent, and impetratorious in their kind, as motives and inducements to God to give a diſcharge, not as meriting, but procuring cauſes, or rather not cauſes but occaſions, of the remiſſion of Sins; and not only of their own, but even of other mens Sins. Yet is not this done *per ſaltum* neither, but by degrees, I mean, by ſome previous qualifications and conditions requiſite to be perform'd by the Sinner himſelf, to render him capable of ſo great a favour as this non-imputation; ſuch as godly ſorrow, and hearty repentance, and, an unfeigned purpoſe of amendment o' life: therefore, *Qui vult finem, vult media*: he that prays for another, that God wu'd *not lay his ſins to his charge*, is preſum'd to pray withal, that God wu'd give him Grace to repent of his Sins; this latter being the way and means to procure and obtain the former: for as *without ſhedding o' blood* (the blood o' Chriſt) ſo without ſhedding o' tears (the tears of a Sinner) *i. e.* without godly ſorrow and repentance, *there is no remiſſion.* So then the Prayers of the faithful are a powerful and prevalent means, whereby God is mov'd and enclin'd to give repentance to Sinners, and conſequently remiſſion of Sins. *Let the Elders pray over the ſick* perſon (ſays St. *James*); *and the Prayer of faith ſhall ſave the ſick*, and *if he have committed ſins, they ſhall be forgiven him:* therefore, ſaith *Simon Magus* to *Simon Peter*, here i'the next Chapter, *Pray to the Lord for me*; meaning, as appears by the context, that his Sins might be forgiv'n him. And, *Pray not thou for this people*, ſays God to the Prophet; implying that the Prophet's praying for 'um, was the ordinary means to

Jam. 5. 15.

Act. 8. 24.

Jer. 7. 16.

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move God to give 'um a pardon, and *not to lay their ſins to their charge.* That *Auſtin* ever was St. *Auſtin*, he might partly thank his Mother *Monica*, for her Prayers and Tears. *Fieri non poteſt ut filius iſtarum lacrymarum pereat.* So powerful and prevalent are the Prayers and Tears of holy Men and Women, of Saints and Martyrs, to obtain repentance and ſalvation for others; the Prayers of Martyrs eſpecially; for as *Sanguis Martyrum ſemen Eccleſiæ*, ſo *Oratio juſti clavis cæli.* As the ſoil of the Church is manur'd and made fat by the blood of dying Martyrs; ſo being blown and breath'd upon by the ſoft gentle gales of their Prayers, eſpecially of thoſe Prayers they make for their enemies, it becomes more fruitful by a new addition o' Converts and Proſelytes; who by obſerving both the conſtancy and charity of theſe holy men at their deaths, by ſeeing their patience in conſtant ſuffering for the truth, and by hearing, or rather God's hearing, their charity in ſuch fervent praying for their perſecutors, are effectually wrought upon, converted and brought home to Chriſt. Thus in *theſi*; and thus it was no doubt in *hypotheſi*, in St. *Stephen*'s caſe: for we may well believ, that by his patient ſuffering, and powerful praying, ſome of that *durum genus*, of thoſe hard ſtony-hearted Jews, with their *ſtones* i'their *hands*, and their *ſtone* i'their *hearts*, were mollify'd to converſion, and brought to repentance; and that as *God* was *able*, ſo he was willing, *of thoſe ſtones to raiſe up children to Abraham*; and ſo there was this good effect of our Martyr's Prayer for his Perſecutors, that the Lord did not charge this nor the reſt o'their Sins upon 'um. That thus it was with ſome of 'um, is more than probable; but of one we are certain, *viz.* St. *Paul*; who by vertue of the Proto-Martyr's Prayer was giv'n and gain'd to the Church, and of a perſecuting *Saul* was made a preaching *Paul*. According to that known ſaying of the Father,

Aug. Conf. 1. 3. c. 12.

Matth. 3. 9.

Father, *Si Stephanus non orâſſet, Eccleſia Paulum non haberet*; St. *Paul*'s Converſion was the fruit and effect of St. *Stephen*'s Devotion. And not only *Paul*, but ſome others among 'um 'tis like were hereby converted, and brought to repentance, and ſo their Sin, *this* Sin, this horrid, bloody, crying Sin, forgiven and *not layd to their charge*. Thus prevalent was our Martyr's Prayer here i'the Text, this happy effect it had upon his Perſecutors and Murderers. And now ſhall we ſay that our Royal Martyr's Prayer this day had the like effect upon his? we hope it had; at leaſt upon ſome of 'um. 'Twas *his* charity to pray for 'um, and it muſt be *our* charity (and nothing elſe) to hope the beſt of 'um, that the guilt of that innocent and Royal blood (this day ſhed) was waſh't away from 'um by the blood o' Chriſt, and the tears of true repentance, and ſo this bloody Sin *not layd to their charge*. However our Proto-Martyr here i'the Text, and our Princely Martyr here o'the day, have both ſet us a Copy, and taught us our Duty, *viz.* by their example to pray for our Perſecutors: S. *Aug.* Serm. 1. De Sanctis.

Which is the fifth and laſt Particular, *Officium Chriſtiani*, The duty of Chriſtians under the Croſs, by *Stephen*'s example to pray for their Perſecutors. Thus we are taught by our Church to pray, firſt in her Litany, *That it wu'd pleaſe God to forgive our Enemies, Perſecutors, and Slanderers, and to turn their hearts*; & then in her Collect for our St. *Stephen*'s day; *That we may learn to love and bleſs our Perſecutors, by the example of the firſt Martyr St. Stephen, who pray'd for his Murderers*. And thus we are taught by our Saviour to pray; firſt by his Precept, in his Sermon on the Mount, *Love your enemies, bleſs them that curſe you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe you and perſecute you*: and then by his practice, at his ſuffering on the Croſs, 5. Matth. 5. 44.

Luke 23. 34. *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* *Pater ignoſce* and *Domine nè imputes*, forgive, and diſcharge, come both to one, both the ſame Prayer in effect; and *Stephen* herein follow'd our Saviour's example, nay, borrow'd this Prayer from Chriſt's own mouth, ſay ſome; who therefore affirm that he was preſent at our Saviour's paſſion. 'Tis poſſible he might be; but yet this is *gratis dictum*, and only conjectural; and however this be, whether he heard it or no, yet he learnt it, to be ſure, of our Saviour, thus to breath out his laſt with ſuch a tranſcendent charity, and with ſuch a zealous and ardent affection thus to pray for his Perſecutors; I ſay, with ſuch a zealous and ardent affection, for *he cry'd with a loud voice*, ſays the Text; *and when he had ſaid this, he fell aſleep:* as if he had been unquiet as it were in his mind, and in a kind of reſtleſs condition, till he had vented his fervent charity, and perform'd this laſt duty of love to his Brethren, (for ſo they were, though his enemies) till in lieu of their heaping ſtones on his head, he had *heapt coals of fire* on theirs, by his ardent zeal and affection for 'um; in a word, till with great earneſtneſs and contention o' Spirit, he had pour'd out this ſhort, but pithy and pathetical Prayer for 'um; and when he had once done this, then he was quiet, and found reſt for his Soul; *when he had ſaid this*, then *he fell aſleep*. Here then is a pattern for our imitation, an example for us to follow; and we know who follow'd it this day, even our late Martyr'd Soveraign, who pray'd for his Perſecutors, as the Proto-Martyr did, and was a follower of him, as he was of Chriſt; for he follow'd not the ſteps of *Stephen* only, but of his bleſſed Maſter and Saviour, and according to his pattern *pray'd for his Murderers*, ſays our Church in one of her Collects for this day. Let his memory therefore be ever precious among us, that we may follow

low the example of his patience and charity; as it follows there. You'l say, this is a Doctrine and a Duty for Christians under the Cross, but (thanks be to God) we are not so; we are not with *Stephen* under a show'r of stones, nor with our Royal Martyr in the hands of Murderers. Beloved in the Lord, 'tis well we are not; yet we know not how soon we may be: for who of us knows what days we may live to see, or what times God has reserv'd us for? If we look abroad, the face of things has no such pleasing nor promising aspect. But I will not *male ominari*; and now especially when I am upon a theme of *charity*, which *thinketh no evil*, loth I am to suspect the worst. Yet let things be at the best, while we are Pilgrims here on earth, travelling through the wilderness o'this world, we are but in a suffering and conflicting condition: *In the world we shall have tribulation* (says our Saviour), I, and enemies too; therefore we ha' need o' patience to endure the one, and o' charity to pray for the other. But my Text is not a Theme of patience, nor our Martyr's Prayer here a Prayer of patience, so much as of charity; and therefore to this latter I shall confine my self, *viz.* to Charity, which teaches us by their example to pray for our Enemies; and Enemies we have, to be sure, and those not a few, the Lord forgive 'am: For what good Christian can want Enemies now adays, when Atheism and Prophaness has so many friends? what sober Christian can want Enemies, as long as Riot, and Luxury, and Debauchery has so many Friends, that in some places 'tis almost counted a Sin to be civil? once more, What peaceable Christian can want Enemies, as long as Schism and Sedition has so many Friends, and there are so many Sectaries and Malecontents in Church and State? And ha' we not need o' charity, think ye, to pray for these enemies; that

1 Cor. 13. 6.

Joh. 16. 13.

that God wu'd give 'um a ſight o' their Sins, and ſo lay 'um home to their hearts, that they may never be *layd to their charge?* You'l ſay, theſe are cloſe and ſecret enemies; the Text ſpeaks of open and publick ones, Perſecutors and Murderers, and we hope, we ha' none ſuch: I hope ſo too. Bleſſed be God, we are not yet *ad eculeum redacti*, not brought to Racks and Strapado's, Axes and Gibbets; nor are we in danger o' wearing a ſtone coat, Ἀδῖτον χιτῶνα, (as he calls it in *Homer*;) yet I muſt tell you, and I think I may tell you without breach o' that charity which I am commending to you, That if ſome men had their wills, and were well arm'd, and had ſtones i'their hands, and I, as *Stephen* ſtood i'their way, I wu'd not truſt 'um. You eaſily gheſs who I mean: they are thoſe *fratres in malo*, thoſe red-hot fiery Zealots o' both ſides; your furious hair-brain'd Fanatic, and your perfidious diſloyal Loiolite: I joyn 'um together, *Bithus cum Bachio*, for I know not which is the worſe o'the two; and I think they plough with one anothers heifer. But as for the Perſecutors and Murderers, thoſe 'ithe Text, and thoſe o'the day eſpecially, they are the objects of our Martyr's charity, and therefore of ours. I mean them that are capable of it; For as for thoſe Alaſtors, the prime men, and ring-leaders of 'um, who ſign'd the Writ, and had an immediate hand in the Royal blood that was ſhed this day, ſome of thoſe blood-thirſty men did not live out half their days (at leaſt not the days that they might ha' liv'd), but were deſervedly cut off by the Sword of Juſtice, and made a Sacrifice to divine and humane Laws here on earth. If any of 'um repented, and found mercy in heaven, before they dy'd, well for our Martyr-King with his Prayer, and charity for 'um, while they were living: but whether they repented or no, they have had

Hom. Il. 1.

had their doom already; now they are dead, and in another world, our charity will do 'um no good, 'tis in vain to pray for 'um: The living, the living are they we muſt pray for, and they to whom we muſt extend our charity. If then there be any of 'um yet alive, who had either a head in plotting and contriving, or a hand in acting and executing the *hoc peccatum*, the Sin o' this day, our charity bids us pray (and we cannot do leſs for 'um) that God wu'd give 'um a ſight o' their horrid Sin, and Grace to repent earneſtly and heartily of it, that ſo it may never be *layd to their charge*; nay, further, our charity (that *believeth all things, and hopeth all things*) bids us believ and hope, that ſome of 'um at leaſt, I wu'd willingly ſay, many of 'um, have already repented, and are become real Converts. And this (though we may wiſh to ſee more apparent ſigns of it, yet) where we ſee no manifeſt ſigns to the contrary, this, I ſay, in charity we are to hope and believ. And if we thus hope and believ, then let us forgive and forget; forgive after the example of our Martyr King, and forget according to the pattern of his Son, our now Gracious Soveraign, whom God long preſerv; who has profeſs'd, as I have heard, that he that touches his Royal Act of grace and favour, I mean, that moſt gracious and merciful Act of *Indemnity*, touches the apple of his eye. Let us then paſs ſuch an Act of Amneſtie and Oblivion too in our own breaſts; I mean, an Act of Oblivion as to others, but not to our ſelves; for we muſt never forget, but remember, that we our ſelves all of us, more or leſs, have had a finger, if not a hand i' *this* Sin o'the day. I know, this will ſtartle ſome: How? will ſome ſay, I hope not ſo; God forbid; who, I a hand i'the King's death? I defy him that ſays it: I thank God, I am as innocent herein as the child unborn; *I am innocent of* Mat. 27. 24. *the*

1 Cor. 13.

the blood of that good King, *that juſt perſon.* So ſaid *Pilat*, but yet he was not for all that: he wu'd ha' waſh'd his hands of it, but cu'd not. No more (I fear) can we; for ſome guilt o' this blood muſt needs ſtick upon us in ſome degree or other, ſeeing our Sins were the meritorious cauſe of the ſhedding of it. We curſe the Jews that crucify'd Chriſt; we cry out o' them that ſtoned *Stephen*; and we exclaim o' thoſe that murder'd the King, as a pack of moſt vile Varlets and Miſcreants: and as we cry out upon 'um, ſo it may be we cry out for 'um, I mean, cry earneſtly and with a loud voice too, as St. *Stephen* did; with as loud a voice, but not with ſo good a heart as he, nor wi' ſo much charity, *Lord, lay not this Sin to their charge.* But now after all this, let us a little, I pray, reflect upon our ſelves. This Prayer, I told you, was a Prayer of charity, and charity begins at home: Let us then look homewards, and ſee whether we our ſelves are altogether free from the guilt o' this blood, or whether we have not cauſe to read the Text with a little alteration, by changing the perſon, *Lord, lay not this ſin to our charge.* For did not God take away our good King in his wrath? and were not the Sins o'the Nation the fuel that kindled and fed the fire of his wrath? and ha' not we contributed ſome ſparks at leaſt, yea and ſome fuel too to this fire? God be merciful to us all; for ſure we muſt all ery guilty before him, and take ſhame to our ſelves: And that indeed is the buſineſs of this day, not to make bitter invectives and declamations againſt others, but in the bitterneſs of our Souls to lament and bewail our own ſad condition; to weep bitterly for our own Sins, whereby we ha' made our ſelves acceſſory in ſome kind or other to the commiſſion of ſo execrable and horrid a Crime. I ſay, in ſome kind or other, remotely at leaſt, if not immediately;

mediately; meritoriously if not executoriously; virtually if not formally; by conſequence if not directly; by a ſinful connivance and complyance it may be, though not by a down-right plotting and contrivance. However acceſſories we are, though not the Principals; our Sins being the procuring meritorious cauſe of God's permitting this Sin, this bloody Sin, this Sin of the day. 'Twas for our Sins, our national Sins, our perſonal Sins, that God open'd the flood-gates, and ſuffer'd the banks to be broken down, and let looſe thoſe torrents of *Belial*, thoſe floods of ungodlineſs, that deluge and inundation of wickedneſs, that overwhelm'd and drown'd both King and Kingdom. We abhor the very name and memory of thoſe curſed and cruel Rebels, and if we ſhu'd meet any of 'um, we are ready to caſt duſt and dirt, and throw ſtones at 'um: But if none but *he that is without ſin among us*, ſhu'd *take up the firſt ſtone to fling at 'um*, truly the ſtones might lye ſtill long enough for all us. Therefore let us take off our eyes a while from beholding o' them, and reflect, and look a little upon our ſelves, and knock at our own doors, to ſee whether all be well at home. Though I hope we had no direct immediate hand nor heart in the Sin of this day; yet ſhu'd we be called to account for it, who of us all here preſent (if then alive, and of ripe years) cu'd now plead not guilty? Doubtleſs they were the Sins of the Nation in general, and the Sins of every one of us in particular that ſharpen'd the Ax, and brought the King to his end. It was *for our many and great provocations that God did ſuffer his Anointed to fall this day into the hands of violent and blood-thirſty men*; as our Church in her Collect for this day devoutly confeſſes; and again, *We humbly confeſs, that the Sins of this Nation have been the cauſe which hath brought this heavy judgment upon us.*

Many national Sins I might name, which were then rife and common among us, and ſo they are ſtill; which then provok'd God's wrath againſt us, and ſo they do ſtill (for truly the world is not much mended ſince). But becauſe St. *Stephen* had ſo much to do with *Libertines*, and our Royal Martyr with thoſe that cry'd out ſo much for *Liberty*, I ſhall therefore only take notice of that univerſal *Libertiniſm*, looſeneſs, and licenciouſneſs, that ſeems to overſpread the whole body o'the Kingdom. Men every where taking *Liberty* enough, whether it be giv'n 'um or no. We ha' need of more *Stephens* to beat down our *Libertines*; ſuch a general *Libertiniſm* poſſeſſes the Nation: An *Atheiſtical* looſneſs, licenciouſneſs, and prophaneneſs, in point of Morality, as to life and practice: a *Sceptical* looſneſs, latitude, and indifferency in Religion, as to matter of Opinion and Doctrine: an *Anarchical* looſneſs (what ſhall I call it?) remiſneſs and ſlackneſs of the reins of rule and government, in point of Order and Diſcipline: Every one of which is of dangerous conſequence, and has a very ſad aſpect and malignant influence upon a Kingdom and Nation, threatning the ruin and diſſolution both of Church and State, if not timely prevented; eſpecially that I laſt mention'd, that general looſneſs and ſlackneſs of the reins of government in point of Diſcipline, that univerſal neglect and contempt of Autority; that Epidemical undutifulneſs, irreverence, and diſreſpect to Superiors, a ruſt and reſtiveneſs contracted in the late lawleſs irregular and rebellious times, and yet not rub'd off, nor worn away; the dregs and reliques of that old leaven not yet purg'd, nor wrought out of the minds and ſpirits of men; the ſeeds of Rebellion and Treaſon ſtill lurking among us; for all undutifulneſs to Superiors is a kind of petite Treaſon; *Lex eſt copulativa*; there's a con-

concatenation o' duties; and he that breaks one link o'the chain of Subordination and Subjection to lawful autority, endangers all: and this is certain, He that is undutiful and diſobedient and diſreſpective to his Superior, will not ſtick upon occaſion, to be diſloyal to the Supreme; and then, beware of *hoc peccatum*, the Sin o'the day. Now as for perſonal Sins, I muſt leav that to every man's Conſcience in particular, to call himſelf to account, and ſee how the caſe ſtands between God and his own Soul. Let us then do ſo, I beſeech you, every one of us, ſeriouſly and thorowly ſearch and examin our ſelves in private (for that's the work of this day, and not only to pray, and hear a Sermon in public), I ſay, let us ſearch our own hearts, to find out what Sins we are moſt guilty of, our boſom and beloved Sins; for they are the Murderers and Malefactors that muſt be attach't, arraign'd and condemn'd this day at the bar of Conſcience; they are the Regicides, that have had ſo deep a hand in the Sin of this day; they are the Traytors and Rebels, that betray'd and murder'd the King. Let then every one of us put theſe and the like interrogatories to our own Souls; Was it not by my high-mindedneſs and ſelf-conceit, *pride* and ambition, that God was provok'd to let *proud* aſpiring Tyrants and Traitors climb ſo high? Was it not my uncleanneſs, *my luſts which war in my members*, that contributed to the kindling of that unnatural *war* between the Head and *the members?* Did not the heat and *fire* o' my luſts (among others) incenſe and provoke God to let *fire* come out o'the bramble, and devour the Cedar of *Lebanon?* Was it not by my envy, *hatred, and malice*, and uncharitableneſs, and *hardneſs of heart*, that God was provok'd to *harden the hearts* of thoſe cruel Regicides againſt their lawful King, and permit 'um to be fill'd brim-full with *hatred and malice*

against his Royal person? Was it not my rash swearing and prophaneness, my false-swearing and *perfidiousness*, my breach of *Oaths* and *Covenants*, Promises and *engagements* made in my Baptism, that mov'd God to give up those false *perfidious* Traitors to a reprobate mind, so as to break all those Sacred bonds and obligations, and *Oaths* of Allegiance to their Leige Lord and Soveraign, and in stead of them to enter into those two bonds of iniquity, the *Covenant* and *Engagement*? Lastly, was it not my intemperance, *gluttony*, and *drunkenness*, that provok'd God to suffer such a crew of savage and barbarous Rebels to *glut* themselves with the flesh of Nobles, and to be *drunk* with Royal blood? Thus shu'd we with sorrow of heart reflect upon our selves, who were then in being, and at years, when this horrid Sin was committed. But then what shall we say to our *Postnati* or *Puines*, those of the younger sort? Indeed they cannot be said to be guilty o'the Sin o' this day, or any way accessory to it, seeing they were not then *in rerum natura*; not so much as enter'd upon the Stage o'the world, when this sad Tragedy was acted; they were not born, when the King was beheaded. Yet by way of prevention of future calamities, let them take heed o' those Sins, which in those times were the meritorious causes of this fearful judgment, and provok't God to suffer it. In a word, let all of us, both old and young, fear to commit those Sins, which as they were then, so they may be still, the meritorious procuring causes of as heavy and dreadful a judgment upon the Land and Nation. Let us, I pray, take heed of persisting in the perpetration of our old wickednesses and impieties, and of acting over those Sins *afresh*; by which God was provok'd to permit cruel men, Sons of *Belial*, this day to imbrew their hands in the blood of his Anointed, and thereby to deprive us of so good and

gracious

gracious a King. This then is the proper work o'the day; every one of us to ſay with *Pharaoh's* Butler, *I do remember my faults this day*, and ſo to humble himſelf before the Lord, not only in public, but in ſecret; to lay his hand upon his heart, and put his mouth i'the duſt, and take the ſhame and guilt of his Sins to himſelf, and ſay, *God be merciful to me a ſinner*; and, *deliver me from bloodguiltineſs, O God:* and, *Lord lay not this ſin to my charge.* Thus we ſhu'd do, and O that we cu'd do it with that brokeneſs of heart, and contrition o' ſpirit, with that true godly ſorrow, and remorſe o' Conſcience, that God may hear in Heaven, and have mercy, and forgive and pardon, that ſo no one drop of that Royal blood may ever be upon the head of any one of us in this Congregation, and much leſs upon the whole Kingdom and Nation! *O gracious God, when thou makeſt inquiſition for blood, lay not the guilt of this innocent blood (the ſhedding whereof, nothing but the blood of thy Son can expiate) lay it not to the charge of the people of this land, nor let it ever be requir'd of us or our poſterity. Be merciful, be merciful unto thy people whom thou haſt redeemed, and be not angry with us for ever; but pardon us for thy mercie's ſake, through the merits of thy Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Amen.

A SERMON Preached upon the Anniverſary of the Birth and happy Return of King *CHARLES* the Second.

1 S. Pet. 2. 17.

Fear God. Honour the King.

FEw words, but full, and pregnant, and big with variety of matter. Two ſhort Sentences, but long and large in ſenſe and ſignification. Two breif compendious Precepts, but of a huge diffuſive, and comprehenſive reach. Two ſhort Leſſons, but of ſo grand importance, and ſo vaſt a latitude, that it will take up a man's whole life to learn them: the firſt of them eſpecially, *Fear God*; which the Royal Preacher in the cloſe of his Sermon, makes the *Totum hominis, the whole duty of man.* Eccleſ. 12. 13. And if ſo, we need learn no more, but put a ſtop at *Fear God*, and go no further. For if that be *the whole duty of man*, then *Honour the King* will fall under it, as included and comprehended in it: and ſo he that hath learn't to *fear God*, hath learn't alſo to *honour the King*. And though the latter of theſe Duties be not ſo comprehenſive as the former, as to the direct and immediate

diate import of it in regard of the object; yet take it in its full extent and latitude, and in all the due qualifications of it as to the act prescribed and enjoyn'd, together with the grounds and reasons of it, and then it implys and presupposes the other: And so he that hath learn't to *honour the King*, hath learn't also to *fear God*. And this shall be my task at this time, to shew the ἀλληλυχία, the mutual coherence and connexion of these two Precepts, the reciprocal clasping and concatenation of these two Duties together.

Well then, *Fear God* is a large Theme, and would afford matter for many Sermons: and so would *Honour the King* too, if one should discourse of them severally and apart, as simply and absolutely in themselves consider'd: but I shall not do so, but twist them both together, and so handle them joyntly, as they have a mutual ἀναφορὰ and reference one to another, and a mutual dependance each upon other. *Junctæ juvant*. And so I shall speak to these two Aphorisms or Propositions: 1. *No man can truly honour the King, but he that fears God.* 2. *No man can truly fear God, but he that honours the King.* So that here in this Text St. *Peter* reads two Lessons, or Lectures, one to the prophane ranting Royalist, the other to the fanatic hypocritical Rebel.

1. *No man can truly honour the King, but he that fears God.* Loyalty and subjection to the Higher Powers, is a fruit and consequent of the *fear of God*: where there is not this root in the heart, there can be none of that fruit in the life. 'Tis nothing but Conscience and Religion, and the fear of God, that can aw the spirits of men into a sense of their duty, and keep 'um within the bounds of loyalty and allegiance. *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers*, saith St. *Paul*, Rom. 13. but how can he be subject indeed to the Higher Powers,

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in obeying their Laws, that is not firſt ſubject to the moſt High in keeping his Commandments? Can I think that man religiouſly obſerves the fifth Commandment, that makes no conſcience of keeping the other nine, and ſo pays God but the tithe of the obedience due unto him? He that would truly *honour the King*, and give due obedience to him and his Laws, muſt do it *for conſcience* Rom. 13. 5. *ſake* (ſaith the Apoſtle), but without the *fear of God* where is conſcience? if it be any where, it's aſleep to be ſure, for *the fear of God* will rouz it up and awaken it. *There is no power but of God* (ſaith the ſame Apoſtle in Rom. 13. 1. the ſame place) *the powers that be, are ordain'd of God*; and ſo the Supreme Power, Soveraignty, or Supremacy, is the Ordinance of God, and upon that account it challenges our dutiful ſubmiſſion and ſubjection to it. Now how can he that fears not God, truly ſubmit to the Ordinance of God? and conſequently, how can he truly *honour the King?* Again, the King is God's Lieutenant (as I may ſay) upon earth: his Vicegerent and Deputy: how then can he truly *honour the King*, that diſhonours God, whoſe Perſon the King repreſents? The Judge in the Goſpel *neither fear'd God, nor regarded man*, Luk. 18. 2. (and he was not aſham'd to ſay ſo himſelf): Indeed if he *fear'd* not *God*, no marvel he *regarded* not any *man* in the world, ſo as to give him any due honour, reſpect, or reverence, though never ſo much his Superiour. *Abraham* (to be ſure) was in the right, when he made the want of the fear of God, the root of all evil, the Parent and Nurſ of all Sin and Wickedneſs, Adultery, and Murther, and the like. *Gen.* 20. 17, *Surely the fear of God is not in this place, and they will ſlay me for my wives ſake*; either to kill him, or abuſe his Wife, he thought they would make no bones of either, as long as the *fear of God* was not among them. And 'tis likely

our Common Law borrows that phraſe in her form of Inditement, *viz.* of a Malefactor's *not having the fear of God before his eyes*, either from that ſpeech of *Abraham*, or elſe from that of the Pſalmiſt, *The tranſgreſſion of the wicked ſaith within my heart, that there is no fear of God before his eyes.* And from thence he knew it was, *viz.* from the want of this fear, that all his wickedneſs did proceed. For 'tis the *fear of God*, that keeps all in aw, and in order; and where that is wanting, nothing is ſafe, nor ſecure, neither Money in the Cheſt, nor Wife in the Chamber, nor Man in his Houſe, nor King in his Throne. It is that great wheel in the clock that ſets all the other o' going; it makes a man move orderly and regularly in all his relations: if that fail, the reſt of the wheels will move ſlowly, or ſtand ſtill; a man will drive heavily, or not at all. Firſt, *Fear God*, then *Honour the King*: without the former no hope of the latter. If a man *fear* not *God*, never look he ſhould *honour the King*, *honour* his Natural, Civil, or Eccleſiaſtical Parents, or keep the fifth Commandment, or any elſe. By this that hath been ſaid already, and much more that might be ſaid, it may plainly appear, that wicked and ungodly men, men void of the *fear* of God, whatſoever they pretend, can never truly *honour the King*, nor be faithful and loyal Subjects to their Prince and Soveraign. *Honour* him they may from the teeth outward, and after a faſhion, or rather flatter him for their own by-ends, and ſiniſter reſpects, for their ſecular intereſt and worldly advantage; but they can never love and *honour* him, ſerv and obey him, from their heart and ſoul: they can never give him the *honour* due unto him, out of love or reſpect to his Perſon, out of duty to God, or *for Conſcience ſake.* We uſe to ſay, and we ſay truly, A thorow-pac't *Jeſuited* Papiſt can never be a good

Pſal. 36. 1.

Subject:

Subject: if he would be ſo, he muſt quit and forſake his Principles. So we may ſay, and ſay as truly, A lewd and vicious, and debauch't perſon cannot be a good Subject; if he would be ſo, he muſt quit and forſake his practices. *Take the wicked from before the King,* Prov. 25. 5. ſaith *Solomon* (a King, and the wiſeſt of Kings), *and his throne ſhall be eſtabliſh'd in righteouſneſs*; and if ſo, then on the contrary it follows, that while the wicked ſtand before the King, and yeild him feigned obedience (and they can yeild him no better) *his throne* will not *be eſtabliſh'd*: ſuch wicked, and unrighteous, and ungodly Subjects and Servants, will undermine his Throne, ſhake his Crown, and endanger his Perſon. And therefore our gracious Soveraign, when preſently after his happy Return, he ſet out that his moſt religious and godly Declaration againſt Drunkeneſs, Debauchery, and Prophaneſs, he did not only do an act of Chriſtian Piety, but of State-Policy: nor did he only conſult the honour and glory of God, but likewiſe his own honour, and intereſt, life, and ſafety. For what greater honour, and ſafety to a King, than the godly lives of his Subjects? on the contrary, what greater enemy to the being, and well-being of the Prince, than the wicked lives of his People? What are the loud thundring ratling Oaths, and horrid Curſes and Imprecations of Subjects, but as ſo many Cannons, or Pieces of Ordnance, not only with *their mouths ſet againſt heaven* (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks), Pſal. 73. 9. but even planted and levell'd againſt the face of the King? What are the fightings, and feuds, and quarrellings, and duels of Subjects, but as ſo many Swords drawn, with their points ſet againſt their Soveraign? What are thoſe prodigious luxuries, and exceſſes, riotings and revellings, debaucheries, and drunken meetings of Subjects, but as ſo many Conventicles, Junćto's and Conſpiracies,

racies, though not directly and formally, yet collaterally and by conſequence, againſt the Lord's Anointed? In a word, what are thoſe torrents of *Belial*, that inundation of Atheiſm and Prophaneſs, that at any time breaks in upon a Kingdom or Nation, but a deluge that threatens to overwhelm and drown both Prince and People? The King is the Head of the People; I am ſure, the name of our King ſignifies ſo, Κάρη λαῶν: Now it's no ſtrange thing, neither in the Natural nor Political Body, for the Head to ſuffer, when the Members miſcarry, or any time diſorder or diſtemper themſelvs. It is no news (for we our ſelvs have liv'd to ſee it) no news to ſee the beſt of Kings cut off for the Sins of the people. So was *Joſiah* King of *Judah*, and ſo was *Edward* the Sixt our Engliſh *Joſiah*, and ſo was King *Charles* the Martyr, our late Sovereign, of ever bleſſed and glorious Memory, cut off, not only *by* the Sins and wickedneſs of a few curſed miſcreant Rebels and Traytors, but even *for* the Sins and wickedneſs of the reſt of his people, yea and of thoſe too perhaps that counted themſelves to ſtick cloſeſt to him, and to be his beſt and moſt loyal Subjects.

But I ſhall not any longer, *hoc ulcus tangere*, rub or grate upon this ſore. I have no particular reflexion upon any; only this I ſhall add in the general, that ſometimes the beſt cauſ may miſcarry in bad hands, becauſ the goodneſs of the cauſ, makes men more confident, and ſo more ſecure and careleſs of their lives: they preſume ſo much of *juſtitia cauſæ*, that it makes them neglect *juſtitia perſonæ*. Well, let none preſume upon their fidelity to their Soveraign, nor flatter themſelvs with profeſſions and proteſtations of Loyalty to the King, while they go on with their Sins and Impieties to provoke and offend the King of Kings. They that rant and roar, ſwear and ſwagger, and drink the King's health, but

but ſeldom or never pray for it, do ſuch men think they *honour the King*, or are His Majeſties good friends and faithful Subjects? whatſoever theſe prophane Atheiſtical people may profeſs or pretend, yea and boaſt of their good affections to His Majeſty; I dare boldly affirm, they are ſo far from being true *honourers* of him, that they are no better than falſe Traitors to him, and Enemies to his Royal Perſon, Crown and Dignity. Do ſuch men think they can *honour* the King by *diſhonouring* God, or ſhew themſelves *good Subjects* by being *bad Chriſtians?* For my part, I am ſorry ſuch heatheniſh people make ſuch a profeſſion of Loyalty; yea, I could almoſt wiſh that they made no profeſſion of Chriſtianity neither: for by their looſe and vicious lives, they are a reproach and a ſcandal both to the one and the other, and ſo bring an evil report upon the good Land, and make the enemies of God and the King to blaſpheme, ſaying, Lo, theſe are the men, and this their converſation, and thus they are all. Though (by the way) as Chriſtian Religion is not the worſe, for ſome wicked mens profeſſing of it, no more is Loyalty neither: rather on the contrary, it ſhows there is ſome extraordinary beauty and excellency in them both, becauſe hypocrites and ungodly men uſe them for a cloak and a cover, ſheltring and ſhrouding themſelvs and their Sins under the colour and profeſſion of them. To draw towards a concluſion of this point: The way to *honour the King*, is to *honour God* firſt: the way to fear and reverence and obey the King, is firſt to fear the Lord. Therefore *Solomon* puts them both together, *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King.* Prov. 24. 21. In a word, the way to be the King's good Subjects and Servants, is to ſerv the Lord. I find ſeveral godly and religious Courtiers, and Kings Servants in Scripture, as *Joſeph*, and *Mordecai*, and *Nehemiah*, and *Daniel*,

Daniel, and others. But I take notice of two especially above the rest; some it may be do not take so much notice of them; but I mention them the rather, becaus of their names, and they are *Obadiah* and *Ebedmelech*. *Obadiah* was Steward of King *Ahab*'s house: and of him we read, that *he fear'd the Lord from his youth*, *Ebedmelech* was a great Officer in the hous of King *Zedekiah*, and of him it is said, that *he put his trust in the Lord*. But why do I mention these two? only to this purpose, by way of allusion, to prove that none can be a good Subject and Servant to the King, that is not the Servant of God: and for this there may be an argument drawn from the Etymology of their names. *Obadiah* signifies *the servant of the Lord*, and *Ebedmelech* is as much as to say, *the servant of the King*. He that would be an *Ebedmelech*, a Servant of the King, must be an *Obadiah*, a Servant of the Lord. Except you serv and fear, honour and obey God, you can never conscientiously, nor truly serv nor fear, honour nor obey the King. And so I have finish'd St. *Peter*'s first Lesson or Lecture, which was a Lecture to the prophane ranting Royalist, in the first Aphorism or Proposition, *No man can truly honour the King, but he that fears God.*

1 Kings 18.12.

Jer. 39. 18.

I come now to his second Lecture or Lesson, which is to the fanatic hypocritical Rebel in the second Aphorism, which is this:

2. *No man can truly fear God, but he that honours the King.* Hitherto we have *render'd to God the things that are Gods, and fear to whom fear is due.* Now let us *render to Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's, and honour to whom honour*; for this *due* is proper and peculiar, especially, *Personæ Principis*, says one upon the place (and he no great Royalist neither) though indeed in *rendering* to *Cæsar* his *due*, we shall *render* to God his

Rom. 13. 7.

Pareus in locum.

his *due* ſtill; and in *honouring the King*, we ſhall *honour* God too. For do we not *honour* God, when we keep his Commandments? and is not the fifth Commandment concerning *honouring our Parents*, part of the Decalogue? And is not the King *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of his Country, and our Political Parent? And is it not God that ſpeaks to us here by the mouth of his Apoſtle St. *Peter*, and bids us *honour the King?* And 'tis well we have it here in ſuch expreſs terms, that our Antimonarchical rebellious *Corahs*, may have no ſubterfuge, nor evaſion. And here the Chapter of Loyalty, the 13*th* to the *Romans*, comes in again: from whence I ſhall fetch but this one argument. A godly man is afraid to *reſiſt the ordinance of God*; The higher Powers, and ſo the Regal, is the ordinance of God: and conſequently, he that truly *fears God*, will *honour the King*; and if he *honour* him, he will not reſiſt, but obey him. To obey Magiſtrates, to *honour the King*, and to be in ſubjection to our Parents, and to the Higher Powers, is not only an *imperat*, but an *elicit*, act of Religion. Not that we think religious worſhip is due to Magiſtrates, (for we do not Idolize nor adore our Princes, as the *Perſians* did of old, and as ſome do the Pope at this day,) but becauſe the Higher Powers are certain Models and Emblems, Images and Repreſentatives of the moſt High; and ſo the honour we give unto them, does more immediately reflect upon God, and more directly redound to his honour and glory. And therefore ſome Divines have made the fifth Commandment a branch of the firſt Table, which concerns our duty to God; at leaſt an appendix to it, *viz.* becauſe our Parents, whether Natural, Civil, or Eccleſiaſtical, are *loco Dei*, in the place and ſtead of God, and repreſent his Perſon. However, if it be not part of the firſt Table, it is the next to it;

wherfore

wherefore it is obſerved by Divines, that in Humane Authors, as well as in the Holy Scriptures (as 1 *Tim.* 5. 4.) honouring and obeying and requiting our Parents, is call'd Religion and Piety: Let them conſider this that are undutiful, diſobedient, and diſreſpectful to Parents: there can be no true piety, no godlineſs nor religion in 'um, that's certain; and the ſame is to be ſaid of thoſe that are undutiful and diſobedient to Princes. And if Scripture be the rule of our Religion, as ſure it is, then it muſt needs follow, that, as long as the Scripture commands us to *be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey Magiſtrates*, Tit. 3. 1. and to *ſubmit our ſelves to every Ordinance of man* (or *to every humane creature*, πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει, that is in Place and Autority, *Omnibus filiis hominum*, as the *Syriac* renders it, to all the Sons of men, *viz.* that are ſet in Autority over us) *for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours, as unto them that are ſent by him*, 13 and 14 verſ. of this Chapter: I ſay, if this be Scripture, and the Scripture the rule of our Religion, then it muſt needs follow that thoſe Men are the moſt godly and religious, who moſt *honour the King*, and are moſt dutiful and obedient to their Natural, Civil, and Eccleſiaſtical Parents. True Religion is both the *cauſa procreans & conſervans*, both the Mother and Nurſe, of our ſubjection to Magiſtrates: and the *fear* of *God*, the direct, proper, and immediate cauſe of *honouring the King*: now *Poſitâ cauſâ proximâ, ponitur effectus, & contrà*; and ſo the argument will hold reciprocally, by a mutual demonſtration from the cauſe to the effect, and from the effect to the cauſe: Such a man *fears God*, therefore he *honours the King*; and again, ſuch a man *honours the King*, therefore he *fears God*. And thus I think, as to the general, the point is clear. And if ſo, if

there

there be such an inseparable union and connexion between these two, then is it not strange, that any should neglect the one that pretends to the other? that a man should think he *fears God*, when he does not *honour the King?* yea, and that for fear of offending and displeasing God, he should venture to displeas and dishonour the Supreme Magistrate by disobeying his lawful commands, who is the Ordinance of God; yea, who is in the place of God, and represents his person? Is it not strange, that when the Apostle bids us *be subject to the Higher Powers*, and obey lawful Autority *for conscience sake*, any should pretend *conscience* for their disobedience? I do not love to give hard words instead of strong reasons, nor to pin odious unnecessary consequences upon any mens Practices or Opinions: for I desire to deal with others, as I would be dealt with my self, that is, fairly and candidly, in a way of love, and *in the spirit of meekness*. But is it not so indeed as I have said? Are there not those among us, that scruple and boggle at the lawful commands of the Supreme Magistrate, yea and refuse to obey him, even in those things which they themselvs confess to be lawful becaus indifferent, and yet will not have them impos'd nor commanded, becaus indifferent? And is not this said to proceed from tenderness of *conscience*, and *fear* of doing somthing against the will of God reveal'd in his Word? Thus men must be disobedient to lawful Autority, and so *resist the Ordinance of God*, even *for conscience sake*. And though sure they do not much *honour the King*, who disobey him by transgressing his Laws; yet such men think they *fear God* as much, yea more than any; and that they are the most, if not the only, religious and conscientious men, and all others but formalists, and time-servers, and meer moral men in comparison; *οἷοι πέπρυνται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀλόνησι.*

But now becauſ there is ſuch a noiſ of conſcience, I would earneſtly entreat and beſeech ſuch men for the love of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, diligently to ſearch
Jer. 17. 9. and examin their own hearts (for *the heart is deceitful above all things*), and ſee whether inſtead of that they call conſcience, and make it a plea for their diſobedience, there may not be ſomething elſe lying at the bottom, that looks like conſcience, when indeed 'tis nothing leſs, but rather humour, or paſſion, or fancy, or faction, or prejudice, or intereſt, or ſingularity, or hypocriſie,
1 Joh. 3. 20. or ſpiritual pride. *If our heart condemn us* (ſaith St. *John*), *God is greater then our heart, and knows all things.* I am very well aware of what follows in the next verſ, from whence ſome would infer, that they may boldly and lawfully do whatever their conſcience
1 Joh. 3. 21. bids them; *If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God.* But ſure that muſt be underſtood of a heart and conſcience truly enlightned, and rightly inform'd; otherwiſe we have no cauſ to be confident; for our heart may deceiv us; and conſcience, if miſguided, is a dangerous thing, and will ſoon marr all, and make foul work, and ſet the whole world on a flame. Did not *Paul* perſecute the Church out of Zeal to Religion? and did not they that kill'd the Diſciples and
Joh. 16. 2. Saints of Chriſt, *think they did God good ſervice?* Thus conſcience if miſled, and not well guided, taught, and inſtructed, may do a world of miſchief where it is: But then again, is it not eaſie to pretend it, where it is not? for have not we known the moſt horrid and deviliſh deſigns, carry'd on under a ſhew and pretence of conſcience, and the Cauſ of God, and Religion? The truth is, Conſcience is made a ſadle for every horſ, a buſh or ſign to hang at every door: And as long as the heart is ſo deceitful, as long as there is ſo much hypocriſie in the world,

world, we have little reaſon to truſt every ſuch ſhow and pretence of conſcience, either in our ſelvs, or others: Eſpecially when we have a more clear light to guide and direct us, and a more ſure rule to walk by, *viz.* the Word of God. Conſcience is a dark, cloſe, ſecret, intricate thing, it has many crooked windings and turnings: but the Word of God (at leaſt in things neceſſary to Salvation, ſuch as is obedience to lawful Autority) is plain and eaſie, clear and evident, and there are no ſuch Mæanders or ambages in it. Conſcience may err, and lead us into errour, like an *Ignis fatuus*, 'tis fallible and uncertain, it may deceiv, and be deceiv'd; but the Word of God is an unerring guide, a certain and infallible rule. Conſcience then is no ſure rule to truſt to; we have a more ſure rule, even the ſure Word of God, whereunto *we ſhall do well to take heed, as to a light that ſhines in a dark place*, as our Apoſtle St. *Peter* ſpeaks. In brief, the Word of God is the rule of our lives, and of our conſciences both; and truly conſcience will play mad pranks, if not regulated and guided by this rule; and for men to pretend conſcience againſt the expreſs Word and Commandment of God, what is it elſe but to turn Antiſcripturiſts, and ſo Atheiſts, under pretence of Religion? Does not *Solomon* counſel us to *keep the Kings commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God?* where we ſee, he expreſly makes Religion towards God, the ground and foundation of our obedience to the King; ſo that he that keeps the King's commandment, keeps the commandment of God. And is not this the clear and expreſs commandment of God here in the Text, *Honour the King?* And ſhall any then plead conſcience for not *Honouring* him? Can any man in conſcience truly *fear God*, and not *honour the King?* for can a man *fear* God, and not keep his commandments? And

2 Pet. 1. 19.

Eccleſ. 8. 2.

is not the fifth commandment one of the ten? or, can any one *honour* the *King*, and yet slight his Autority, or refuse to obey his Laws? And are not the Ecclesiastical Laws (by the way) the King's Laws? And have not they the impress of Regal Sanction, and the stamp of Royal autority set upon them, as well as the Civil? What plea then or excuse can men have for not keeping and observing of them, especially when they pretend to be so good Christians, to *fear* God, and keep his commandments? If mens consciences be misled and mistaken (which is the best can be imagin'd), yet God and the King must not loose their right. An erroneous conscience cannot cancel the bond of obedience, nor excuse any from doing his duty: Indeed it may so ensnare and entangle him, that, *durante illâ conscientiâ*, he cannot proceed one way or other without Sin: but still *datur exitus*, for *Nemo angustiatur ad peccandum* (saith the School), still there's a way left to get out, and to extricate himself, and that is *deponere errorem conscientiæ*, to rectifie his conscience, to quit and forsake his errour, which he may do, by giving all moral diligence, and using all good means for his better information: And if he would do that, let him *not lean* too much *to his own understanding*, but rather distrust his own judgment, than the judgments of so many wise, grave learn'd, and godly men, his Superiors in Church and State; the King, and those that are in autority under him. And then let him in the fear of God, duly and impartially weigh and examin the grounds and reasons of his dissent and disobedience; not thinking it sufficient, that he has met with some little umbrages, and shadows of offence in *general*, taken at the King's Ecclesiastical Laws, the Orders and Ceremonies, and Liturgy of the Church; but let him come to *particulars*, and then seriously consider:

Prov. 3. 5.

ſider and aſk his own heart, whether indeed he be able to prove by Scripture or reaſon, any one thing enjoyn'd, to be unlawful, and repugnant to the Word of God; (for till that be done, 'tis in vain for any to plead or pretend tenderneſs of conſcience for their contempt and diſobedience). And then let him ask himſelf but one queſtion more, *viz.* how far he thinks ſome few needleſs niceties, doubts, and ſcruples about things indifferent, will bear him out and excuſe him another day, for his neglect of ſo neceſſary and fundamental a duty, as *honouring the King*, and yeilding obedience to his Laws. That ſubmiſſion to lawful Autority, and Obedience either *active*, or *paſſive*, is a moſt neceſſary duty, no Chriſtian can or will deny. I ſay, Obedience either *active or paſſive*, *active* in things lawful, *paſſive* in others. Now if men bring themſelves into danger, or lie under any hardſhip, for diſobeying the King, and not performing his lawful commands, what joy of heart their *paſſive* obedience can be to them, or what great content, or comfort, they can find in their ſufferings, I cannot conceiv, but ſhall leav it to all prudent and unprejudiced and impartial men to judge.

And here I ſhall only add this as to the matter of Non-conforming to the Kings Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and ſo draw to a concluſion. Let men diligently take heed and beware, leſt in ſtead of conſcientious Non-conformiſts (for ſome ſuch I believ there are, though it's pity there ſhould be, men of ſuch weak and tender conſciences, that for want of due inſtruction and right information, they are really and truly diſſatisfy'd), I ſay, let men take heed leſt in ſtead of being ſuch, they prove (as too many I fear there are) perverſ and ſtubborn and obſtinate Schiſmatics, or (which is all one) fanatic hypocritical Rebels. And if ſo, then as I ſaid before to the

the prophane ranting Royalists, That by their vicious and ungodly lives, they bring a scandal and reproach upon Loyalty: So I must say to these men, That by their spurning at lawful Autority, and their undutifulness to the Higher Powers, they bring a scandal and reproach upon Christianity; while they make Religion a cloak for Rebellion, and pretend conscience for their disobedience. I have been the longer upon this, because indeed 'tis *Morbus Epidemicus*, the diseas of the times: and I would fain, if possible, help to beat men out of this hold, *viz.* of making the *fear of God* a plea for not *honouring the King*: a pretence so directly contrary to the Doctrine of St. *Peter* here in the Text; where he joyns these two duties together in a bond of inseparable union; I say, these two Duties, which I have hitherto prov'd to be like *Hippocrates*'s twins, that live and dy together; *Fear God*; *Honour the King*; so that no man can do the one, and omit the other: and as he that is a prophane, wicked, and ungodly man, cannot be a true, faithful, and loyal subject: so on the other side, he that is a fals, disloyal, undutiful subject (pretend what he will) cannot be a holy, good, and godly Christian. ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι, which is the thing I have been proving all this while, *viz.* that *No man can truly fear God, but he that honours the King.* Now there are several ways of *honouring*, or giving *honour* to any, several sorts of *honour*; I mean of *honour* strictly taken, as here in the Text: for otherwise *honour* is taken in a more large acception, as oppos'd to contempt, scorn, or hatred; and so in the beginning of the vers, *Honour all men*, that is, have a due respect to all; do not hate, nor scorn, despise, nor contemn any. But *honour* strictly and properly taken is only due to Superiors; and so in this sens there are several sorts of *honour*, these three especially:

eſpecially: The *honour* of *Obedience*, the *honour* of *Reverence*, and the *honour* of *Maintenance*; and all theſe comprehended, and included in the word *honour*, both in the fifth commandment, where we are bid to *honour our Parents*; and alſo here in the Text (which is a branch of that commandment) where we are bid to *honour the King*. Of the firſt of theſe I have been ſpeaking all this while, *viz.* of the *honour* of *Obedience*; and for the two latter, the *honour* of *Reverence*, and the *honour* of *Maintenance*, as I have now no time, ſo no need (I hope) to ſay much of them. For that both theſe ſorts of *honour* are due to the King or Supreme Magiſtrate, as well as that of *Obedience*, is out of all queſtion; it being ſo conſonant to the principles both of Religion and Reaſon, and ſo agreeable to the rules both of Divinity and Policy: So that moſt men yeild their aſſent to the truth of it, as to the Theory, though in the Practice ſometimes they fail and fall ſhort. So then, beſides that of *Obedience*, there are theſe two other ſorts of *honour* more, both confeſſedly due to Kings and Princes, *viz.* the *honour* of *Reverence*, and the *honour* of *Maintenance*; the one for the ſafeguard and defenc of their Royal Perſons; the other for the ſupport of their Regal Eſtate, Crown, and Dignity. For firſt, if their Perſons be once ſlighted, undervalu'd, and diſeſteem'd, their lives will ſoon be in danger: and then again, if their *jura Regalia*, their Regalities, or Revenues of the Crown, be clipt and cut ſhort, the Reverence of their Perſons will not long continue. Therefore we find *Honour* in Scripture, ſometimes put for ſupply or maintenance, or payment of rights and dues, as of Tithe or Tribute, and Offerings, and the like. *Honour the Lord with thy ſubſtance*, and ſo the King too: *Honour widows*, that is maintain them, by ſup- Prov. 3. 9. 1 Tim. 5. 3.

ſupplying their wants and neceſſities; and to this purpoſe St. *Paul* in that 13*th* to the *Rom.* v. 7, *Render therefore to all*, and ſo to Kings and Princes, *their dues, tribute to whom tribute*, &c. where we have *tribute*, and *cuſtome*, and *honour*, put together; *tribute* and *cuſtome*, being a great part of the *honour* due to Kings. Therefore our Saviour commends and commands it both by his precept and practice; by his precept, in his *Reddite*
Matth. 22. 21. *Cæſari*; by his practice, when he pay'd tribute himſelf; yea, and rather than not pay it, he would work a miracle, and fetch it out of a fiſhes mouth; and he made St. *Peter* to do it, which St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor the Fiſherman of *Rome* (I fear) is not ſo forward to do, to pay tribute, I mean, to Kings and Emperours, but rather make them pay homage and tribute to him; which if they refuſe to do, and ſo prove Heretics, Rebels to the Apoſtolic See, the Chair of *Rome*, and the Triple Crown, preſently *ipſo facto* they forfeit their own Crowns, I, and their Lives too; away with 'um, depoſe and kill 'um. This is the *Jeſuits* Doctrine; but they learnt it not of *Jeſus*, nor *Peter*, nor *Paul*, nor *Tertullian*, nor of any of the ancient Fathers. What *Chriſt*, and *Peter*, and *Paul* have ſaid, we have already heard: Let us hear now, if you will, what *Tertullian* ſaith for himſelf, and the reſt of the Primitive Chriſtians of his time, *Colimus Imperatorem, tanquam hominem à Deo ſecundum, & ſolo Deo minorem.* We honour, and worſhip, and reverence the Emperour next to God. And St. *Chryſoſtome* (to name no more) upon that famous place to the *Romans*, *Omnis anima*, *Let every ſoul be ſubject.* Κὰν Ἀπόστολος, though he be an Apoſtle, or Evangeliſt, or Biſhop, or whatever he be, if he come within the compaſs of *Omnis anima*, and have a Soul to ſave, he muſt *be ſubject to the Higher Powers*; *honour the King* or Kaiſar,

Kaiſar, obey him, and reverence him, and pay him due homage, cuſtome, and tribute. VVhat ſhall we ſay then? that our *Jeſuits* never read the precept of *Jeſus Reddite Cæſari*, nor our *Romaniſts* the 13*th* to the *Romans*, nor our pretended *Catholics*, this Catholic Epiſtle of St. *Peter*? Sure if they read it, they do not regard it. For were *they* to *honour the King*, to *be ſubject to the Higher Powers* then, and are not *we* now? Conſider but what *Cæſars*, Kings, and Emperours, they were in thoſe days, in the time of our Saviour, and of his Apoſtles, and afterward in the time of *Tertullian*, and the reſt of the Primitive Fathers, for 300 years after Chriſt; *Tiberius*, and *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*, cruel and bloody Tyrants, the very worſt of the *Roman* Emperours, yea the worſt of men, the very monſters of mankind; theſe and the like in the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. And then in the Primitive times, *Trajan*, *Marcus Antoninus*, and others, though the beſt of Heathen Emperours, yet Heathen Emperours, utter enemies to the Goſpel and Church of Chriſt, and cruel Perſecutors of Chriſtian Religion. Give *Cæſar* his due, ſaith Chriſt, though that *Cæſar* was no other than *Tiberius*, *Lutum Sanguine maceratum*, a lump of clay molded and temper'd with blood, as his School-maſter call'd him, in regard of his dull, and yet cruel, diſpoſition. *Honour the King*, ſaith St. *Peter*, though that King or Emperour was no better than *Claudius*, (for it was in his reign that he wrote his Epiſtle; *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and the reſt that he wrote to, being then Provinces of the *Roman* Empire). I ſay, *Claudius*, a Heathen and wicked Emperour; who baniſht the Chriſtians out of *Rome*, *Impulſore Chreſto aſſiduè tumultuantes*, as *Suetonius* has it, miſtaking the word, (the name *Chreſto* for *Chriſto*) but much more the

Theodorus eũm ſubinde appellavit, Πηλὸν ἀιματι πεφυραμένον. Sueton. Tiber.

Sueton. Claud.

thing, as if Christ had been a Ring-leader of Sedition: and likewise the *time*, as if he had liv'd in the days of *Claudius*, whereas he suffered some years before in the reign of *Tiberius*. And yet these were the Emperours, whom the Primitive Christians were to *honour*. How much more then does this duty concern us? How much more should we *honour the King?* the King, whom this day God bless'd us with, by bringing him into the world, and also this day, by a miracle of mercy restor'd unto us, by bringing him back to his Kingdom, even our Gracious King *Charles* the Second, whom God long preserv; not a Heathen Emperour, but a Christian King; not an Enemy to Christ, and the Gospel, nor a Persecutor of the Church, and Christian Religion, but a nursing Father of the Church, a zealous Mainteiner of the Christian Religion, of the true Orthodox Reformed Religion, a Defender of the Faith, of the true ancient Catholic and Apostolic Faith; not a *Nero* or *Diocletian*, but a *Constantine*, a *Theodosius*; not a cruel and bloody Tyrant, but the very picture and mirrour of Mildness and Clemency; not a VVolf or Butcher of the flock, but Ποιμὴν λαῶν, a Shepheard, and Father of his people: Under whose auspicious and gracious Protection, we enjoy our Lives and Liberties (and which are dearer to us) our Church, Faith, and Religion, the pure and Reformed Religion, the true and sincere Worship and Service of God: whereas before his happy Restauration, you know how it was with us, and in what sad and horrid confusions we were wrapt and involv'd, both in Church and State. For which ever-glorious and wonderful Revolution, as with joyful, and thankful hearts, we look up unto God this day, as the principal Author, so we

cannot but with loyal and humble hearts, reflect upon our Gracious Sovereign, as the cheif Inſtrument under God of all our happineſs. Therfore as we bleſs God, ſo let us *honour the King*; *honour him with our ſubſtance*, by paying him due homage, cuſtome, and tribute; *honour* him by our *Obedience*, in a chearful ſubmitting to his Laws and Conſtitutions; *honour* him by a dutiful Reverence and reſpect to his Sacred Perſon: *honour* him with our hearts, by entertaining high and honourable thoughts and apprehenſions of him, loving and loyal affections towards him: *honour* him with our hands, by fighting (if need be) or writing in defence of his Royal Perſon, Crown and Dignity: *honour* him with our mouths, by ſpeaking highly and honourably of him, and not in the leaſt kind, ſlandering or aſperſing, diſparaging or defaming Him or his Government. Take we heed and beware of the blaſphemous rudeneſs of thoſe railing *Rabſhakehs*, and *filthy dreamers*, who *deſpiſe dominions and ſpeak evil of dignities*, Jud. 8. or, as our Apoſtle St. *Peter* has it, they *deſpiſe government*, 2 Pet. 2. 10. *and are not afraid to ſpeak evil of dignities*; δόξας δ τιμῶσι βλασφημοῦντες, they tremble not to blaſpheme Dignities. Blaſphemy is properly againſt God; now is a kind of Divinity in Dignities, and Higher Powers; ſo that to ſpeak evil of them is a kind of blaſphemy. *Naboth* did *blaſpheme God and the King*; a capital crime, had it been true: but you ſee *blaſpheming God and the King* go together; He that blaſphemes or ſpeaks evil of the King, blaſphemes and ſpeaks evil of God, whoſe Image and Vicegerent he is. Wherefore to conclude, *Honour* we the King *ore* and *opere*, both by word and deed,

I and *corde* too, with our hearts and ſouls. Let us ſhow that we *fear God* by our *honouring the King*. Let us declare our-ſelves to be *good Chriſtians*, by being *good Subjects*; and ſo joyn theſe two together in our life and practice, which St. *Peter* does here in the words of the Text, *Fear God, Honour the King*.

A SERMON Preached upon the Anniverſary of the *Gun-Powder Treaſon.*

Pſalm 124. v. 7.

Our ſoul is eſcaped as a bird out of the ſnare of the fowlers, the ſnare is broken, and we are delivered.

THIS Pſalm, as ye may perceiv by the tenour of it all along, is a Gratulatory or Euchariſtical Hymn, or Pſalm of Praiſ and thankſgiving to God for delivering *Iſrael*, both King and People (for it was in King *David*'s time, the Author of the Pſalm), the Church and people of God out of the hands of their mercileſs and cruel enemies, the *Philiſtins*, moſt like, or the *Ammonites*. However ſome extraordinary preſervation, ſome remarkable ſignal deliverance belike it was; and 'twas the *Dominus nobiſcum* that did the deed, for *If the Lord himſelf had not been on our ſide, when men roſe up againſt us, they had ſwallowed us up quick*, &c. but Bleſſed be the Lord, *who hath not given us over as a prey to their teeth.*

Our

Our ſoul is eſaped, &c. In the words we may obſerv theſe three Particulars:

1. The Danger that the Church was in, or the Plot lay'd for her, *i. e. The ſnare of the fowlers.*

2. The Prevention of the Danger, or the Defeating and Diſappointing of the Plot, *The ſnare is broken.*

3. The Churche's Deliverance and ſafety enſuing thereupon, *Our ſoul is eſcaped as a bird, and we are delivered.*

1. Then, The Church was in Danger; and that's no news, the Church is in a conflicting condition, militant here on earth, a lily among thornes, in the midſt of her enemies; among the pikes, and many a puſh made at her, many a ſnare laid for her. And thus *Iſrael*, the Church and people of God in King *David's* time, was in great danger it ſeems, and that by reaſon of a *ſnare*; and that *ſnare* the *ſnare* of the *fowlers*, whether *Philiſtins*, or *Ammonites*, or others. And was not our *Iſrael*, the Church of *England*, the Church and people of God with us, in as great danger too, as upon this day 64 years ago? and that by reaſon of a *ſnare* too, *the ſnare of the fowlers*, thoſe Popiſh Philiſtins; ſuch a *ſnare* as the like was never laid by any *fowlers* that ever were, ſuch a Plot as the like was never contriv'd by all the wit and malice of Devils and Men; the Gun-powder Treaſon: which having once nam'd, I have nam'd the very quinteſſence and elixir of all villany and barbarity, miſchief, and cruelty; a Plot that none but the Devil or a Jeſuit, or a Jeſuited Papiſt could ever invent; and a *ſnare* it was to purpoſe. Wicked and ungodly men, eſpecially Tyrants and Perſecutors, the enemies of God, and his Church, are often in Scripture compared to Hunters and Fowlers; and their miſcheivous machinations, malicious plots, and contrivances, to traps, ginns, and

and ſnares; as in the book of Pſalms, and elſwhere. And very fitly ſo compar'd, and that in theſe three reſpects eſpecially:

1. Becauſe they are *Mala doloſa & occulta*, cunning and cloſe miſchiefs.

2. *Repentina & improviſa*, ſudden and unexpected.

3. *Pernicioſa & mortifera*, dangerous and deadly. And was not this days treaſon a *ſnare* in all theſe reſpects?

1. In regard of the cloſeneſs and cunningneſs of it. A ginn or a *ſnare* is laid very cloſely and cunningly, that the bird ſhall not ſee nor perceiv it; for *in vain the net is ſpread in the ſight of any bird*, ſaith *Solomon*. Prov. 1. 17. And ſuch was the miſchievous deſign of this day; the *ſnare* was laid very cloſely, and cunningly, hid in a dark vault, in a deep mine; Theſe Popiſh Pioneers and Powder-Traytors dig'd ſo deep to hide and conceal, and cover their Plot and Powder, as if they would have dig'd as deep as Hell; *Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos*, as if when God and men fail'd them, they would have mov'd and call'd in the Devils to help them; indeed ſuch a black and horrid treaſon could not be hatcht and hammer'd but in the Devil's forge, in the deepeſt and darkeſt cell, and caverns of hell; A dark vault or coal-houſ they hir'd to this purpoſe under the Parliament houſ, where in they hid their Wood and Powder: and truly ſuch a dark vault was a fit place for ſuch a work of darkneſs; and a coal-houſ a fit ſhop for ſuch *Romiſh* Incendiaries with their *fides Carbonaria*, their Collier's faith: Now beſides this cloſe and ſecret conveyance, the better to cover and conceal their curſed conſpiracy, they bound themſelvs by an Oath of Secrecy; yea, under the Seal of the holy Sacrament, not to diſcover nor reveal it to any without common conſent. Thus

cloſely

closely and cunningly was the mischief contriv'd, and the *snare* laid; for a company of cunning *Fowlers* they were. The cunning *Fowler* when he cannot get his quarrie, nor kill the birds with his gun and shooting, then he spreads his net, then he falls to his *snare*, then he lays his ginns and *snares* privily for them. These Romish *Fowlers* or Hunters (if you will) yea, and Fishers too (for sure the Fisherman of Rome *sub Annulo Piscatoris*, St. *Peter*'s pretended successor, had a main hand in the business) I say, these Popish *Fowlers* had often shot at us before; and fought against us as in 88, and at other times, *Many a time had they fought against us*, &c. *Psal.* 129. *but they did not prevail against us.* Yea *Catesby* and *Faux* with some other of their complices, had been very lately tampering with the *Spanish* Guns, dealing with the King of *Spain* about an Invasion: but when that fail'd, and those Guns wu'd not go off, nor take fire, then they fall to the *snare*; (yet there was gun-powder good store in the *snare* too), when they could not prevail against us by open force and violence, then they make use of their craft and subtilty, then they seek to entrap and entangle us with their ginns and *snares*, their close secret Plots and Conspiracies; for they had learn't *Lysander*'s προσραπτέον τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν, when the lion's skin would not reach, they peic't and eek't it out with the foxe's; when neither the wild beasts of the field, nor the roaring Bulls of *Rome*, of themselves could do us any harm, then those crafty subtil foxes the Jesuits seek to circumvent and supplant us, to undermine and blow us up: for 'twas the *Jesuites powder* that was able to cure an ague, and all other diseases; 'twas Father *Garnet* and *Greenwell*, and others of that cunning crew, the spawn of *Ignatius* (with *ignis*, fire, in his name),

name), 'twas they that animated and encouraged *Catesby* and *Percy* and the rest of the Conspirators, to undermine both Church and State, to work in the mine, and blow up King and Parliament, Lords and Commons, and all at a blast, all of a sudden; which leads me to the second Consideration, the second Circumstance, in respect whereof this horrible Plot and Conspiracy is fitly term'd a *snare*, and that is,

2. In regard of the suddenness and unexpectedness of it: The bird is taken in the *snare* of a sudden, *ex improviso*, and surpriz'd at unawares, *Eccl.* 9. 12, *As the birds that are caught in the snare, so are the sons of men snar'd in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them*; and *Luke* 21. 35, *As a snare shall it come*, &c. *viz.* the last day, that is to say, suddenly, unexpectedly, and unawares. Such was the mischief of this day, *Malum repentinum & improvisum*, sudden and unexpected, in a time of general peace and tranquillity, in the days of Great *Brittain's Solomon*, wise and peaceable King *James* of happy Memory; no forrain foes from abroad, no domestic enemies suspected at home (he having oblig'd his Roman Catholic Subjects, as he thought, by many signal favours); when all things were thus calm and serene, no clouds gathering at all in appearance, then this storm was to break out of a sudden, and fall upon King and Kingdom; and like a Hurricane, sweep all away in a moment; Sudden it was in regard of the time and season, when 'twas contriv'd, *viz.* when all was quiet, and no such desperate or fatal blow was in the least fear'd, or suspected (as the bird is surpriz'd, and caught in a *snare* when she little suspects it): thus it was *Malum improvisum*. And sudden it was too, in regard of the quick dispatch and havock it would have made, had it succeeded and taken (as the bird is caught in the *snare* of a sudden, in a trice, in a moment).

moment). And thus it was *Malum repentinum:* and both these, both the unexpectedness of the danger, and the sudden dispatch, mystically and covertly imply'd in the Letter to the L. *Mountegle*, by which the business was discover'd; the former in these words, *Though there be no appearance of any stir, yet they shall receiv a terrible blow, this Parliament, yet they shall not see who hurt them:* The latter in these, *The Danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letter.* That is as that sagacious *Oedipus*, wise and learned King *James* rightly expounded the Riddle) The blow shall be suddenly given by a blast of Powder, which is as soon over as the blaze of a Letter burnt in the fire. And so you see, this mischievous Plot laid this day for this Church, the Church and People of God here in *England*, may very well be compar'd to a *snare* in regard of the *suddenness* and *unexpectedness* of it, both in respect of its sudden coming, and likewise of the sudden dispatch it shu'd have made when it came.

3. And lastly, As it was sudden, and unexpected, so 'twas dangerous and deadly. The *snare* of the *Fowler* is a fatal engine, an instrument of death; the bird that's caught in a *snare*, seldom escapes with her life; such was the mischief design'd and intended this day, a fatal and deadly blow it had been indeed, if it had taken; *The snares of death encompass'd us* (as *David* speaks), and so our Church expresses her self in her Collect, *O Lord who didst this day discover the snares of death that were laid for us.* Indeed a deadly *snare* it had been, if it had not been broken; King and Parliament, Prince and People, Peers and Prelates, Lords and Commons, all blown up at a blast; a whole Kingdom, Church and State, swallow'd up and destroy'd by a πανωλεθεία. A dangerous, dreadful and deadly design it was, to cut off, or rather blow

Psal. 18. 5.

blow up, the King and the whole Representative Body of the Kingdom, head and tail, branch and rush, in one day, nay, in a moment, at one blast; and yet thus they had done if the *snare* had held; this they intended, and had it *in voto*, nay *in parato: Caligula's* wish, O! that the people of *Rome*, nay, O! that the people of *England*, becaus they were not the people of *Rome*, O! that the Church of *England* had but *unam cervicem*, one neck, that they might cut it off; and why, think ye? even becaus it had not that *unum caput*, that one Head which they would have set on. *Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel: Instruments of cruelty were in their habitation, and in their self-will they digged through a wall.* They heaped up wood and faggots to burn up us Heretics: Indeed these *Romish* Beautefeu's and Incendiaries had been at their fire-works before; they had been trading and tampering long with fire and faggot by retail, in the *Marian* times; and now they thought to do it by wholesale, by making a Bonfire of the Parliament-house, burning and blowing up the whole Body of the Realm, Head and Members, the King with all the three Estates of the Kingdom assembled and met together. But *blessed be the Lord who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth. Our soul is escaped*, &c. *The snare is broken*, the danger prevented, the design blasted, the Plot defeated: that is the second particular we observ'd in the words, *viz.* the *Prevention of the Danger*, or Disappointment of the design.

Gen. 49. v. 7. v. 5. v. 6.

The mischievous machinations and devices of wicked and ungodly men against the Church and people of God, though never so closely and cunningly contriv'd and carry'd, are often frustrate and broken, defeated and disappointed. Οὐκ ἀρετᾷ κακὰ ἔργα. Such wicked works do not always succeed and prosper, they often prove abor-

tive and come not to the birth; The reaſon is, there is a πανδερκὲς ὄμμα, an all-piercing eye that ſees and diſcovers them, a Θεὸς ἄνω μηχανῆς, a God above that blaſts and diſappoints them and brings them to nought. And ſo it was this day, the *ſnare* was *broken*; and how was it *broken?* juſt as it is here in the Pſalm, by a *Dominus nobiſcum*, in the firſt verſe, *The Lord was on our ſide*; and by an *Adjutorium noſtrum in nomine Domini*, in the laſt; *Our help was in the name of the Lord.* How was this Treaſon diſcovered, and the danger prevented? juſt as God ſays to *Zerubbabel*, Zech. 4. 6, *Not by might, nor by power* (I may add, not by wiſdom, nor by policy) *but by my ſpirit, ſaith the Lord of hoſts. The ſnare is broken, and we are eſcaped as a bird, tanquam Avicula:* 'tis not by her own ſtrength or cunning that the poor *bird* makes her *eſcape:* Alas ſhe is weak and ſimple, only there comes ſome ſtrong hand and breaks the *ſnare*, *Nodos & vincula linea rupit*, in the Poet, and then away flys the *bird*; ſo it was here, a ſtrong hand from heaven *broke* this *ſnare*, *This was the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes*, 'twas *by the ſpirit of the Lord*, and 'twas the Lord's doing that the Treaſon was diſcovered, and the *ſnare broken:* Yet our *Zerubbabel*, our pious and prudent Prince King *James* under God had a hand in it too, in the breaking and diſappointing of it, for ſure he was guided by the Spirit of the Lord, and more than ordinarily inſpired and directed in opening the ſecret, and unfolding the myſtery and Riddle of the Letter; and according to that of the wiſeſt of Kings, *There was a Divine Sentence in the lips of the King* (Great Brittain's *Solomon*) ſo that *his mouth tranſgreſſed not in judgment*, when upon his reading of that dark ænigmatical writing, he paſt his *ſentence*, whereby the whole buſineſs was happily diſcovered and brought to light, and ſo the *ſnare* was

Virg. Æn. 5.

Pſal. 118. 23.

Prov. 16. 10.

broken

broken, and *we were delivered*; that's the third and laſt Particular, the *Churches ſafety and deliverance* following upon the *ſnare* being *broken*; *we are delivered.*

And this indeed is a neceſſary conſequent of the former, for when the *ſnare* is once *broken*, the *bird* will ſoon fly away and *eſcape. We are delivered*; ſo we were this day indeed, *delivered* from death and deſtruction, *delivered* from fire and faggot, *delivered* from the *mouth* of the *lyon*, and from the *paw* of the *bear*, and from the *horns* of the *bull*, the Pope's *Bull*, I mean, and from the *tayl* of the *Dragon*; *delivered* from the ſavage cruelty of *Catesby* and *Faux*, *Et ab ipſis faucibus Orci*; from the very jaws of Hell: *delivered* from paſſing through the fire to the *Moloch* of *Rome*, from being made a holocauſt, a whole burnt-offering to that Idol, by thoſe Prieſts of *Baal*, Father *Garnet*, and the reſt of thoſe Gun-powder-Saints and Martyrs. Thus we were and are *delivered*; I, and which is more, *our ſoul is eſcaped*: I know, by *ſoul* here (according to the uſual Idiom of the Hebrew tongue), is meant nothing elſ but life or perſon, as much as to ſay, our perſons are *eſcaped*, or we are *eſcaped* with our lives; her life, that's all the *bird* looks after. Yet I hope I may without forcing the Text, take occaſion from hence, by way of accommodation, to put ſome greater ſtreſs or emphaſis upon the word *ſoul*, and to obſerve from hence, that the *Deliverance* wrought this *day* was a *Soul-Deliverance*, not only a *Corporal* but a *Spiritual Deliverance*; not only a *Deliverance* of the body, but of the *ſoul* too, we eſcaped not only with our lives, but with our Religion; *Our ſoul is eſcaped*, *eſcap'd* out of the *ſnares* of Popiſh Idolatry and Superſtition, laid in our way by thoſe Romiſh *Fowlers*; *ſnares*, I ſay, laid in our way; for what is their Ἀποκρυφία, for inſtance, or worſhipping the Hoſt, but an Idolatrous *ſnare*? what

what are their numerous, superfluous, superstitious rites and ceremonies, but *tot Laquei animarum*, so many *snares*, upon the Souls and Consciences of men, especially as us'd and impos'd by them of the Church of *Rome*, who place holiness and religion in them, and make them matters of necessity, and parts of Divine worship: things (by the way) which our Church in her few, her very few, ceremonies, has ever expresly disclaim'd; enough in the judgment of any moderate or sober men, to clear her from any suspicious or superstitious symbolizing or syncretizing with the Church of *Rome*. Well, these were the *snares*; but by the blasting and defeating this Powder-treason, these *snares* were broken; and *our soul escaped, and we were delivered.* Again, their Auricular confession, consisting in an anxious punctual enumeration of all particular sins to the Priest in private once a year: Mistake me not; I am not against private Confession to a Priest, I would it were more practis'd amongst us; but that Auricular Sacramental Confession, as they call it, and as it is practis'd in the Church of *Rome*; besides, that it is a kind of a pick-pocket, as it is us'd, and a picklock of the cabinets and counsels of Princes: what a *Carnificina & Laqueus Conscientiæ* is it? what an intolerable *snare* upon the soul and conscience? I instance in this the rather, becaus under this pretended cover of Confession (though indeed it was no formal Confession, the business being reveal'd to *Garnet* and others, as he himself confess'd at last, not in way of Confession, but of discourse and consultation only) but under this cloak and cover of Confession, the treason was hid and conceal'd *sub sigillo*, a Seal so sacred and inviolable, that 'tis not to be broken in any case whatsoever, saith *Bellarmine*; no, not to avoid the greatest evil that may possibly happen,

happen, *Catholica Doctrina non permittit ad ullum malum vitandum secretum Confessionis detegi*; and he speaks it in defence of this days treason. Not to be broken, no, not to save the lives of all the Kings in Christendom; so said *F. Binet* the French Jesuit to *Casaubon* upon this very occasion, as that learned man tells us in his excellent Epistle to *Fronto Ducæus*; *Præstaret Reges omnes perire, quàm si vel semel sigillum Confessionis violaretur*: But by the disappointment of this horrid design, both this pretended seal, and this *snare* was *broken*, and *our soul escaped, and we were delivered.* Once more; Their Pope's Pardons, Bulls, and Breves, their Papal Indulgences and Dispensations (which gave *Luther* the first occasion of plucking his foot out of the Romish *snare*) what are they els but pitiful *snares* to catch Dotrels, poor silly souls, that will pay so dear for a new-Nothing? But by defeating this Devilish plot, this *snare* was *broken*, *our soul is escaped, and we are delivered.* What should I speak of their Transubstantiation, and Purgatory, worshipping of Images, and Invocation of Saints, and the Rest of Pope *Pius* the fourth's new Articles of the Tridentine faith, equal in number, and equal in authority, to those of the Apostles Creed; *snares* laid for our souls by the *fowlers* of *Rome*, especially those subtil Emissaries and cunning *fowlers* the Jesuites, who as they did then, so have they done since, and still (no doubt) do go a *birding* among us, though some are so blind and simple they will not see it. Had they caught us in that λίνον πάνσγρον, that capacious Catholic *snare*, set this day for King and Kingdom, Church and State, those other *snares* would have followed of course; for that was on purpose laid, to bring these upon us. But *Benedictum sit Nomen Domini*; hitherto *our soul is escaped* out of these *snares*, the *snares* of their dangerous and per-

Bellarm. sub nomine *Matth. Torti.* pag. 94.

pernicious doctrines and principles, and the *snares* of their wicked and cruel designs and practices; especially out of the great *snare* of this day, *Our soul is escaped, and we are delivered.* And now may not this justly provoke and stir us up to a detestation and hatred of that Church and Religion, which brings forth such cursed and bitter fruits; whose principles are productive of so sad and direful effects? I will not say, (though it has been said) the Romanists Faith is Faction, and their Religion Rebellion; but this I must say, that they teach and broach such Doctrines as are very scandalous to Christian Religion, and very dangerous and destructive to Kingdoms and States; as having a direct and natural tendency to sedition, rebellion, and treason: And herein I dare boldly impeach and implead the Church of *Rome*, as the mother and nurse of this hideous monster, (though, blessed be God, it prov'd but an embryo) this monstrous Gunpowder-treason. And that herein I do her no wrong, I shall make it appear; For though our Romanists may wipe their mouths, and disclaim the business, by laying the blame upon a few rash hot-headed discontented Catholic Gentlemen; yet if we examine it well (and it has been examin'd pretty well already) we shall find it to have been the genuine issue and product of their Popish Principles, the natural result and consequence of some doctrines and opinions commonly and openly held and maintained in the Church of *Rome*. I shall instance in one especially, which is *instar omnium*, and the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the ground and foundation of all the rest, and that which gave the first birth and breeding to this barbarous and bloody design, and that is that beldame doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility, or (which is all one) of his Supremacy (for if he be Infallible, he must needs be Supreme) or, if you will, his universal temporal

Monarchy,

Monarchy, his Lordſhip Paramount, his abſolute Soveraignty and Dominion, his unlimited Power and Authority, over Kings and Kingdoms, his power to depoſe Kings and to diſpoſe of their Kingdoms. That the Pope hath power to depoſe Kings (if they be Tyrants or Heretics (and ſo they muſt be, if he once ſay the word, and pleaſ to call them ſo) is *Communis Doctorum*, the common received opinion of their chief Doctors and Caſuiſts; eſpecially the Jeſuits and their Adherents, who bear the great ſway in the Church and Court of *Rome*. This I could ſhew at large by producing the concurrent teſtimonies of *Becanus* and *Bellarmine*, *Suarez* and *Leſſius*, *Mariana* and *Santarell*, *Bonarſcius* or *Scribanius* (which ye will), and *Emanuel Sa*, and divers others. I ſhall only quote the ſayings of one or two for all. Kings have no wrong done them (ſaith *Bellarmine*) if they are depriv'd of their Kingdoms, when they prove Heretics; *Nec ulla eis injuria fiet, ſi deponantur.* And again, *Hereticum eſt* (ſaith he) 'tis a point of Hereſie, to ſay that the Pope, as Pope, has not power *Jure Divino*, by Divine right, to depoſe Kings; but indeed you muſt underſtand him right; 'tis onely *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, viz. *Cùm id bonum ſpirituale ſive ingens Eccleſiæ neceſſitas requirit*, when the cauſ of God and the Church, when the Catholic cauſ, or, if you will, when the *Good Cauſ* ſhall require it: And a little after, *Pontificem habere poteſtatem deponendi Principes eſt de fide*, the Pope's power of depoſing Kings is a matter of faith; and therefore to hold the contrary, muſt needs be a point of hereſie. No marvel we are counted Hereties for denying this article of the Romiſh Creed: and no marvel (ſaith *Leſſius*) that it is *De fide*, and we are bound to believ it as an article of faith, ſeeing it hath been determin'd and given as an Oracle out of the Infallible Chair: for *Gregory* the 7th,

Bellarm. *ſub nomine* Sculken. *contra* Widdrington.

aliàs Hildebrand, has decided it long ago in expreſs terms in a Council held at *Rome* 600 years ſince, *Quòd Papa liceat Imperatores deponere:* and, ſaith *Santarel*, (whoſe Book being Printed at *Rome* was burnt at *Paris*, *Ringente Papâ, & multùm frendentibus Jeſuitis*) *Poteſt Papa Reges movere, & mortis pœnâ punire*, depoſe Kings, and put 'um to death; and that *ſine Concilio*; *Papa ſine Concilio deponit Imperatorem, ſi ſit Hæreticus:* How does he prove it? *Quoniam Papæ & Chriſti unum eſt tribunal.* And again, *Qui Religionem Catholicam Romanam deſerit, regnandi jus omne amittit:* that's down-right; ſo ſays our Countryman *F. Creſwell* in his *Philopater*. I ſhall name but one more, and that is *Emanuel Sa* in his Aphoriſms, *Verbo Clericus: Clerici rebellio in Regem non eſt crimen læſæ Majeſtatis, quia Principi non eſt ſubditus.* Excellent Jeſuitical Doctrine, enough to make Kings and Princes in love with Jeſuites as long as they live! *A Church-man cannot be guilty of treaſon, becauſe he is none of the Prince's Subjects:* and no marvel, as long as he is one of the Pope's Vaſſals. But this wu'd not ſerv *F. Garnet*'s turn; who was convicted and found notoriouſly guilty of this day's treaſon by his own confeſſion, and ſuffer'd accordingly. 'Tis true, this Aphoriſm of *Em. Sa*'s, either for ſhame, or rather for fear, is left out of the *Paris* Edition, this Doctrine being not ſo current in *France* as at *Rome:* but 'tis ſtill extant in the firſt *Colen* Impreſſion, and in that of *Antwerp*. Well, it ſeems this is the *new Hereſy* of the Jeſuits, as a late Author, even a Papiſt, calls it; and theſe Doctrines they commonly vent and publiſh in their Books Printed *Con Licenza* at *Rome* and elſwhere: nor did they ever retract or recant them, as far as I could hear. I know what is commonly pleaded and pretended of late by our Romaniſts; *viz.* that theſe dangerous, deſtructive, King-killing

Leſſ. *Apolog. pro Poteſt: S. Pontif.* Part 2. Sect. 3. Santarel. *de Hæreſi & Schiſm.*

Creſwel. *Philopat.* Num. 156.

killing Doctrines are but the private Tenets and Opinions of ſome particular Doctors, and were never own'd and receiv'd as the public Doctrines of the Romiſh Church, nor ever decreed nor confirm'd by the Church of *Rome* in a Council. And this is the laſt and lateſt ἐσχατόγατον, the neweſt ſhift and refuge they have found out for themſelvs. But let me ask 'um, 1. Is not the voice of their Pope *Boniface* the 8th, claiming a right to the Temporal Sword by vertue of *Ecce duo gladii*, and *Repone gladium in Vaginam*, and the like; and when he told King *Philip* of *France*, *Scire te volumus*, *We wu'd have you to know, that you are Subject to us both in Spirituals and Temporals:* I ſay, is not this *Vox Eccleſiæ*, the public voice of the Church of *Rome?* Let me ask 'um, 2. Has not that of their Pope *Gregory* the 7th, *aliàs Hildebrand*, *Nos, nos Imperia, Regna, Principatus, & quicquid habere mortales poſſunt, auferre & dare poſſe*, as *Platina* has it in his life; *'Tis in our power to give and take away Empires and Kingdoms at our pleaſure*; I ſay, has not this fine *Hildebrandine* Doctrine been the public acknowledged Doctrine of their Popes, and of their Church, at leaſt of the Court, of *Rome*, ever ſince? 3. Was the 4th *Lateran* Council under *Innocent* the 3d, a General Council, or no? If not, as ſure it was not, (nothing being fully and openly determin'd in it, ſaith *Platina*, *Nec decerni quicquam apertè potuit*) how then comes their Tranſubſtantiation to be made an Article of Faith by vertue of a Decree of that Council? If it was a lawful Oecumenical Council, as they will needs have it, then that the Pope has power to abſolv Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance and fealty to their Princes, is a receiv'd authentic Doctrine of their Church; for that, they confeſs, was decreed in a Canon of that *Lateran* Council under Pope *Innocent*. 4. Suppoſe theſe King-

killing Doctrines are not publicly own'd and declar'd to be the Doctrines of their Church, nor decreed in their Councils, either of *Lateran*, *Florence*, or *Trent*; are they a whit the less dangerous and pernicious for that, seeing they are the current Opinions of their most learned Casuists, Doctors, and Confessors, commonly receiv'd and embrac'd, I and openly publish'd and printed, by their greatest Clarks among 'um, and that without any check or controul, yea with great Approbation, Licence, and liking? But now, 5 and lastly, If in good earnest the Church of *Rome* disallows and renounces these dangerous Doctrines and Opinions so destructive to Kings and Kingdoms, then, I pray, let his Holiness seat himself in his Chair, and condemn these Doctrines, as he did, (or wu'd have seem'd to do) those of the *Jansenists* lately; let him limit his *Ordo ad Spiritualia*, and disclaim and quit his Temporal Monarchy; let him disown all power, so much as indirect, over Princes Temporals; let him confine himself within his own Precincts and Territories, and renounce his Catholic Supremacy, and his Universal Jurisdiction over all the Kingdoms and Churches of Christendom: Let the Church of *Rome* publicly declare to the world in Print, that she disowns and disclaims these treasonable, disloyal, *Loiolitical* Principles, these pestilent pernicious Antimonarchical Tenets of the Canonists and Jesuits; and then we may hope that our Romanists may be good Subjects. But till this be done, and while the Doctrine of Deposing Kings, allow'd by so many Decrees, I and Practices too, of Popes, and maintain'd by so many of their chief Authors, stands yet uncondemn'd; they must still give us leav (becaus they will give us caus) to doubt of their loyalty. I do not, I will not, say, All our Romanists are enclin'd to Rebellion: I doubt not but there are many faithful and loyal

loyal Subjects among 'um: but this I muſt ſay, As long as they own a forrain Juriſdiction, either Spiritual, or Temporal, which they muſt do, if they are thorow-pac't; and as long as the Pope uſurps the power to *depoſe* and *diſpoſe*, to *depoſe* Kings, and *diſpoſe* of their Kingdoms, and to abſolv Subjects from their Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance; ſo long the Romiſh Religion muſt needs have a natural tendency to diſloyalty: And therefore if Papiſts be good Subjects, no thanks to their Popery; and I fear, 'twill be hard for 'um to be good Catholics at *Rome*, and good Subjects at home: for if they be ſo, it muſt be only *durante bene-placito*, as long as the Pope is well-pleas'd: but if once he be angry with Kings and call 'um Heretics, then have at 'um *Fowlers*, let 'um look to themſelvs. And indeed how our Jeſuited Papiſts, if they be true to their Principles, can be true to their Princes, and take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, without mental Reſervation, or Jeſuitical Equivocation, or Papal Diſpenſation, firſt to take it, and then to break it upon occaſion, which is to play faſt and looſe, to play with Oaths, as boys do with Cherry-ſtones; I ſay, how they can otherwiſe do it, for my part I confeſs, it paſſes my underſtanding. And therefore the Caſe was well ſtated and determin'd long ago by our Reverend and Learned Biſhop *Davenant*; *Jeſuitici Pontificii non poſſunt eſſe boni ſubditi.* Ye have hitherto ſeen what the Jeſuits Doctrine is; now ſee what an influence it had upon this day's Treaſon; For I ſhall not ſay any thing of the Aſſaſſines of the two *Henrys* of *France*, *Clement* and *Ravaillac*, one of which was a Novice in the Jeſuits College at *Clermont*, but both acted by a Jeſuitical ſpirit, and animated and ſpur'd on to the perpetration of thoſe horrid Villanies by reading ſuch Books as *Mariana's*, and others. Nor ſhall I recount thoſe many attempts made

Davenant. Determ. Qu. 17.

made upon the life of our Renowned Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed Memory; those many *snares* laid for her by those *fowlers* of *Rome*, especially after that famous or rather infamous Bull of *Pius Quintus* was published against her, declaring her Excommunicate as a Heretic, and so depriv'd of her Crown and Dignity, and absolving her Subjects from their duty and allegiance. What sad effects that Bull produc'd, what treasons and conspiracies, rais'd against her by her own Subjects by the advice and instigation of *Holt* and *Walpole* and other Jesuits, commending it as a meritorious act to kill an Heretic Excommunicated and depriv'd by the Pope, is a thing notoriously known to the Christian world. In the head or title of that Bull, I find these words, *Deinceps obedientes anathemate illaqueantur*: where I take notice of the word, *illaqueantur*; all that would presume to be her obedient Subjects hereafter, were intangled in the same *snare* of the Pope's Anathema. However (God be thanked) those *snares were broken*, and *she was delivered*. But we need not look so far back: This days treason will speak enough for all, *Crimine ab uno Disce omnes*, we need fetch in no more, *Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof*. And first, 'tis as clear as the Sun at noon-day, that the Jesuits, *Garnet*, *Hall*, *Greenwell*, *Gerard*, and others, were deeply engaged in the Plot, and had a main hand in it, as being the Principal Authors if not Actors, in this horrid Tragedy. 2. That the rest of the Conspirators were influenc'd and infected with the traiterous Doctrines and Principles of the Jesuits, their Ghostly Fathers, and Confessors; and also animated, abetted, and encouraged, by their Counsels and instigations, this likewise is plain and evident by the Authentic Records of the Proceedings against them.

3. And

3. And laſtly, 'tis no leſs evident, that it was the Pope's Bull that engendred this hideous Monſter, that gave the firſt riſe and growth to this unparallel'd Powder-Treaſon; the Pope's Bulls being *Tauri ignivomi*, like thoſe in the Poet, *Vulcanum naribus efflant*, they breath gunpowder, fire, and brimſtone. About the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Clement* the 8th (by the procurement no doubt of ſome here at home) ſent two Bulls or Breves into *England* by the aforeſaid *Garnet*, the Jeſuit, and Superiour of that Order here, wherein he ſtraitly charged all Roman Catholics not to receiv or admit any to be King (how near ſoever in blood) that was not well affected to the Catholic Religion: thereby prejudging and precluding (what in him lay) King *James*'s Right here to the Crown; But theſe were but *Bruta fulmina*; they could not ſtop nor hinder the King, his way and Title were both ſo clear and open. And now his good Catholic Subjects are at a loſs; and what ſhu'd they do? they could not keep him out, and therefore Κατὰ δύναμιν πᾶσαν, they will blow him out, or rather, blow him up; and for that they had ſufficient warrant and encouragement from the fore-named *Clementines*: for proof whereof when Father *Garnet* told *Catesby*, 'Twere not amiſs, if the Pope were ſent to, and made acquainted with the buſineſs, to know his mind, and how well he approv'd it; *Catesby* reply'd, That needed not, for he knew the Pope's mind well enough, he having already declar'd himſelf for the King's non-admittance; and who knows not, (ſaith he), that *Qui admitti nolit, expelli velit?* So you ſee upon what Grounds he went, and what it was that prompted and mov'd him, and his Complices, to this curſed Conſpiracy; yea, I dare boldly affirm, that thoſe two Bulls, the one of *Pius* the fifth againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, the other of *Clement* the eighth againſt King

James;

James (*Pius* and *Clement* indeed with a witness) together with the Jesuitical suggestions, doctrines and devices, as so many Glosses and Comments upon those Texts, have given ground and occasion not only to this, but even to all the treasons and conspiracies practis'd ever since, against this Church and State, King and Kingdom; not excepting the late grand rebellion and treason, which we in this age have liv'd to see. For do you think our Roman Catholics, at least the Jesuits, were idle spectators all the while, and had not a hand in the 30th of *January*, as well as in the 5th of *November*? Is it not well known that the train to entangle us in that horrible *snare*, and intrigue of the late confusions, was laid by a great Cardinal Minister of State, and perhaps the whole Conclave? are we not yet convinc'd, that the design was hammerd at the Romish forge, and fire fetcht from thence to kindle our combustions? Is it not yet apparent, that the Popish Emissaries and Incendiaries were sent hither on purpose under the name of Anabaptists, Seekers, and Quakers, and I know not what, to blow the coals, and foment the flames of our late dissentions? And are we not yet sensible, how some factious and seditious Separatists have been, and still are, acted and carried on by Jesuitical principles in their rebellious practices; and so brought to be the Pope's drudges; and to do his work for him, though the leaders of them are so blinded with partiality and prejudice, and others so led with blind obedience to their Teachers (a point of Popery too) that they will not see nor perceiv it? I will name but two or three Doctrines of *Bellarmine* and his fellows; and you shall judg how well they have been followed by some of late, who yet would be thought to be the only Antipodes almost and enemies to *Rome*. A Prince, saith *Lessius*, that is a Tyrant, cannot

cannot be put to death by any private men, while he continues a Prince, but muſt firſt be depoſed; but by whom? why, *A Republica, vel Comitiis Regni*, by the Commonwealth, or by the Parliament, *vel alio habente authoritatem*, (*i.e.*) the Pope. And to the ſame purpoſe *Suarez*, *Poſt ſententiam latam omnino privatur Regno*; and then ye may do what you pleaſ with him, *A quocunque privato poterit interfici*, any *fowler* may fetch him in. *Poteſtas immediatè eſt tanquam in ſubjecto in tota multitudine*, ſaith *Bellarmine*, The ſoveraign Power is in the People; *Et ſi cauſa legitima adſit, &c.* and if there be a lawful cauſ (and who ſhall judg of that but the Pope or the People?) the People may turn a Kingdom into an Ariſtocracy or Democracy. And this he ſtands to in his *Recognitions*, ſtoutly maintaining *Poteſtatem Politicam non eſſe immediatè in Regibus*; That the Civil power is not immediately in the Prince, nor *immediatè à Deo, ſed mediante conſilio & conſenſu hominum.* And again elſwhere, *Poteſtas Regis eſt à populo, quia populus facit Regem*; whence it follows, ſaith he, that if the King prove a Tyrant, *Licèt ſit caput Regni, tamen à populo poſſe deponi, & eligi alium.* And what could ſome among us have ſaid more? Sure I am they did no leſs. I ſhall add but one piece more, or rather a maſter-piece, of *Bellarmine's* Politics. In his Book againſt *Barclay*, he brings in the Pope diſcourſing with a Prince's ſubject to cajole and debauch his Loyalty and Allegiance; When I abſolv you (ſaith he) from your Oath and bond of Allegiance, be not miſtaken, I do not give you leav to diſobey or reſiſt your King, *Non permitto ut Regi non pareat*; no, by no means, take heed of that; that were *contra jus divinum*, againſt the law of God. Very good. I, but how then? *Sed facio ut qui tibi Rex erat, non ſit deinceps tibi Rex*; but I make, appoint, and ordain,

Leſſ. de Juſt. & Jur. l. 2. c. 9.

Membris Eccleſ. Bellarm. de Membris Eccleſ. lib. 3. qui eſt de Laicis.

Bellarm. in Relig. lib. ſupra dict.

Bellarm. de Concil. l. 2.

Bellarm. de Poteſt. S. Pontif. adv. G. Barcl. cap. 31.

that he who was your King, is not now your King any more: No King any longer, if the Pope saith the word; and then take him *Fowlers*, and do what ye pleas with him; he lyes open either to your gun, or your *snare*. And now tell me, were not some among us of late very prompt Scholars of *Bellarmine*, think ye, they had so perfectly learnt this distinction? they did not oppose nor resist the King, but you know whom; no gun had they to hit him, no *snare* to take him in his Political capacity, but only to his Personal. Ye see how thoroughly these Jesuitical lessons were learnt and got by heart by our Regicides and Rebels of late; and shall any make me believe that they are Protestants, and of the true Reformed Religion, that are so apt Disciples of *Bellarmine*? Just such Protestants as this days Traytors. Sir *Edward Cook*, then the Kings Attorney General, in his Speech upon the Gun-powder Treason, has several Observations, of which this is the last, *That there was never any Protestant Minister found guilty of any conspiracy or treason against the King.* And no marvel; for certainly Rebels and Traytors can never be true Protestants, what ere they pretend. Disloyalty, Rebellion, and Treason, are so against the grain and strain of our Protestant Profession, so directly contrary to the genius and temper and spirit of the Gospel, and of the true Reformed Religion. Let us then, I beseech you, stick close to the Principles of our Religion, which are Principles of obedience and loyalty; *Let us hold fast the profession of our faith*, and Religion, *without wavering*, i.e. of the true ancient and Catholic Faith, and the true Orthodox Reformed Religion, professed and maintain'd in the Church of *England*: And as we bid defiance to the Pope's *Bulls*, so let us take heed of plowing with the Romish *Heifer*; I mean, of being asso-

Heb. 10. 23.

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ed and led by Popish and Jesuitical principles, which have born so great sway, and had so strong an influence upon some mens practices of late in this Nation, who yet pretended so much zeal for the Reformed Religion.

But I shall no longer *hanc Cantrinam movere*, nor harp any more upon this unpleasant string; this is not the day nor the time for it: Only let not the Church of *Rome*, nor such as *Philanax Anglicus*, or the Author of *Jerusalem and Babel*, think to choak us with our Rebels and Regicides, the Authors of the late horrid Rebellion, as a blot scandal and reproach to our Religion: For we own them not, nor do we look upon them as ours, I mean Protestants, and true Sons of the Church of *England*; seeing they were wholly acted and sway'd by Jesuitical and Popish principles: Our Protestant Religion teaches us another lesson; yea, and this I must be bold to say further, As for those that have any seeds of this Rebellion still lurking and remaining in them (if there be any such, as I hope there are none here) that look asquint at the Government, Civil or Ecclesiastical, and are disaffected to the present settlement of Church and State, as it stands now by Law establisht, I cannot see how such men can cordially join with us in keeping this Fifth of *November*. The horrible plot of this day was intended (saith our Church in her Collect) *for the subversion of the Government and Religion establisht among us*: Now how can they be truly thankful to God for this days deliverance, that will not own nor allow the Subject-matter of it, *viz. the Government and Religion establisht among us*? This is a day of Thanksgiving to God for the preservation and continuance of our Government, Civil and Ecclesiastical, the preservation both of the Church and State; the Church, I say, both in her Doctrine and Discipline; her Doctrine in

the true ancient Catholic and Apostolic Faith; her Discipline, in her true, ancient, Catholic and Apostolic, Episcopal Government. The Church of *England* had both these then establisht by the Laws of the Land, and so both these struck at this day; and are any still hewing and hacking at 'um? Both these should have been blown up this day; and are any still lifting and heaving at 'um? If so, who are they? or what can we count them, but the sons of father *Garnet*, or the spawn of *Catesby* and *Fauxe*? And certainly our factious, fanatic, turbulent, and schismatical spirits, are but the Jesuits Journeymen, though they are so blind they cannot, nor will not perceiv it. And I would heartily beseech and entreat our dissenting Brethren, who make such a fearful pudder, rupture, and rent in this poor Church, I say, (if there were any here) I would earnestly beseech and entreat them in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, seriously to consider what a scandal they bring upon the Reformed Religion, and what hopes and advantages they give to the adversary. They have been hammering (say they) a Reformation all this while, and yet now they cannot tell what they would have, or where they would be. O! how *Rome* triumphs in our Divisions! how the Pope warms himself at the fire of our feuds and animosities, schisms and dissentions! the best fire I believe that ever he had next to that of Purgatory. They that wu'd break down the fence of our Ecclesiastical Government by undermining and weakning the power and autority of the Church of *England* in her Laws and Canons, and Constitutions, what a gap wu'd they open to the *Foxes* of *Rome*, the *little Foxes*, to enter in and *spoil our vines*? They that would unhinge the frame, discompose and ruffle the Government of so well-order'd and setled a Church, by shaking and loosning the pinns

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and joints of it, especially when establisht by the Civil Power, and Royal Autority, what do they els in effect endeavour to do, but what this day was intended, *viz.* to bring us into a woful labyrinth, and into a *snare* of horrid confusions? And then let our Popish *Fowlers* alone, they desire no more, *ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πελάμος, Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercentur Jesuitæ*, who hope that a Church thus *divided against it self cannot stand.* Doubtless if things go on in the same pass they have done of late, and schism and faction still get ground, and grow and increas upon us, the Pope in time will have a fair pull for it; we shall need no *Fauxes* with dark Lanthorns, nor gunpowder-men to blow us up and our Religion together; we shall do it our selves. Do we not think our Romish *Fowlers* are at work still among us, very busie in laying their *snares* for us? and shall we be quarrelling among our selvs, till God *give us up for a prey to their teeth?* Quarrelling about I know not what; (I dare say the quarrelsome part know not what they wu'd have.) Give me leav to repeat a saying which I heard many years ago, as long ago almost as I can remember; *Si unquam Papismus remeaverit in Angliam, Puritanismus erit in causa*; if ever Popery return into *England*, and we be brought into that *snare* again, and fall into the hands of those *Fowlers* of *Rome* (which God forbid) we may thank our Schismatics and Sectaries for it. God be thank'd, hitherto this *snare* hath been *broken*; and this day it was *broken*, and I may say it was *broken* too not many years since by a miracle of mercy, this *snare*, or a worſ; well, *the snare is broken and we are delivered*; and we still enjoy our Laws and Liberties, Lives and Religion, under a most Gracious Prince (who may far better be call'd *Pius* and *Clemens*, then either of the two men of *Rome* we spoke of before) I say under a most

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Gracious King, whom God long preserv; in a Church most pure, and Orthodox, and Apostolical, and best reformed of any Church this day in the Christian world. *O fortunatos nimium!* if we would but know it. *Happy is that people that is in such a case,* under such a King, and in such a Church; a happiness which nothing can deprive us of, but our monstrous and wretched unthankfulness for such a great mercy. As ever then we hope or desire to have this happiness prolong'd and continu'd to us and our posteritie, and still to *escape* these *snares*, *snares* of superstition, and *snares* of confusion; *snares* of the head, and *snares* of the hand; *snares* of corrupt and pernicious principles, and *snares* of cursed and cruel practices; in a word, as ever we look to enjoy the fruit and benefit of this days deliverance, let us be really and truly thankful to God for it; let us *escape as a bird*; the *bird* when she is *escaped out of the snare*, flys aloft towards Heaven, as it were in token of thankfulness, *Volans in nubila fugit*, with her in *Virgil*: so let us; let us be really thankful, let us express our thankfulness by flying aloft towards Heaven, I mean, by our Heavenly-mindedness, by the purity and holiness of our lives, by an humble and chearful submission and conformity to the Laws of God and the King; in a word, by our lowly and loyal, peaceable and godly Conversation. And now let me ask but this one Question, *Is our soul escaped?* I say not, since this days Deliverance, 'tis so long past, but of late since the *snare* was last *broken*, eight or nine years ago? Is our *soul* the better for it? it may be our *body* is, our bodily and temporal estate perhaps is better, but are we grown better as to our *souls* and spiritual estate? are we more reformed in our lives since that late wonderful Revolution? are we since that grown more holy and religious, more sober and temperate,

Psal. 124. 15.

rate, more meek and peaceable, more humble and charitable? If ſo, then *our ſoul is eſcaped.* But if on the contrary we are nothing amended by it, nor more reformed in our Lives; if we are not the better, nor walk any whit the cloſer with God after ſuch an extraordinary ſignal deliverance from ſuch a dangerous *ſnare* as this, our body is *eſcaped* it may be, but *our ſoul* is in the *ſnare* ſtill; though not in the *ſnare* of Popiſh ſuperſtition, yet in as bad or a worſ *ſnare*, the *ſnare* of Atheiſm and prophaneſs; and ſo *our ſoul* is not *eſcaped.* Yea, and as to our outward and bodily eſtate, however it be with us at preſent, yet for the future we are never the ſafer, but in as bad a caſe, in as much danger as ever, yea and in more, for *if we ſin more and more, a worſ thing will come unto us*; God will bring us into the ſame or a worſe *ſnare*; for aſſure we our ſelves this, if we ſtill go on to provoke the Lord by our ſins, notwithſtanding theſe his miraculous mercies towards us, *a worſ thing will come unto us*, a worſe *ſnare* will befall us, and we know not how ſoon; it may be here in this world, but be ſure hereafter in the world to come. *Fear and the pit and the ſnare ſhall be upon us*, it is an elegant Paronomaſy that in the Prophet, but a ſad one, horror of Conſcience, the *ſnares* of death, and the pit of hell. So then, is our *ſoul* ſtill hamperd and entangled in the *ſnares* of our ſins, and can we ſay, *our ſoul* is *eſcaped?* Sin it ſelf is a *ſnare*, and all *ſnares* come by ſin. *The wicked is ſnared in the work of his own hands*, ſaith *David* the Father; and, *In the tranſgreſſion of an evil man there is a ſnare*, ſaith *Solomon* the Son. If then we would *eſcape* the *ſnares* of evil men, ſuch as was that of this day, take we heed of the *ſnares* of the Devil, which St. *Paul* ſpeaks of in his Epiſtles to *Timothy*, thoſe two eſpecially, which he there makes, one of them at leaſt,

Joh. 5. 14.

Jer. 48. 43.

Pſal. 9. 16.

Prov. 29. 6.

1 Tim. 3. 7.

2 Tim. 2. 26.

the

Tim. 6. 10. *the root of all* [illegible] Pride and Covetousness; these are indeed the cause of all other *snares* both in Church and State; Ambition and Avarice, for the most part, the fountains and inlets of all Heresie and Schism, Rebellion and Treason; yea of all sin and wickedness, mischief and misery whatsoever: these are they that set our Romish *Fowlers* a work this day, though zeal for Religion and the Catholic cause was pretended. Wherefore to conclude, *Flee youthful lusts*, (saith the Apostle) let us flee sinful lusts (to be sure) especially these two leading grand cardinal lusts, Pride and Covetousness, and then we shall the sooner and easier flee schism and faction, atheism and prophaness; which if we do not, we have no part nor portion in this days solemnity, nor can we cordially [illegible] the Church in the celebration of it: but let us to the purity of our Reformed Religion, add the purity and reformedness of our lives; let us walk in the ways of peace and holiness, humility and charity; and then we may with joyful, and chearful, and thankful hearts, acknowledg and commemorate the great deliverance of this day, and say with the Psalmist in the words of the Text, *Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are delivered.*

2 Tim. 2. 22.

Jos. 5. 14.

Jer. 48. 43.

F I N I S.

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